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THE HELLENIZATION OF CHRISTIAN MESSIANISM

THE ARGUMENT

The first Christians were Jews, "born under the Law", as was Jesus Himself, yet for the first two centuries Christianity was a Greek movement. This study asks to what extent that Hellenistic environment had been reflected in the earliest Christian literature at the one point only,- the evaluation of the Person central in the new faith. "Messiah" was a Jewish concept, meaningless to Gentile ears: how then did the Greek Christians express the religious values which they, too, had come to find in Jesus?

The immediate disciples were from Galilee, and so less 'hedged' in than Torah-keeping Judea,- but Jews, never-the-less. The Jewish apocryphal and pseud-epigraphic literature reveals a rich and most varied religious life within Palestine as without; Messianism was not the only avenue of Yahweh's salvation, though this feature of the Judaism of the period (200 B.C. to 100 A.D.) is greatly enriched through the Apocalypses. When Messianism issued in the hope of a personal Messiah, no uniform portrait of Yahweh's agent in salvation is presented. In the main two conceptions predominate,- the Davidic, and earthly Messiah with human parentage effecting Israel's vindication before the nations ; and the Apocalyptic,- a transcendental Messiah. Among the Extra-Palestinian Jews the inherited Messiah figure was not embellished though the Septuagint and Philo and Josephus all give evidence of the impact of the new culture upon their traditional faith.

If any literature of the primitive Jewish community of Christians ever existed, none remains. The earliest writings

of the new group show Christian Messianism already in process of Hellenization. The new movement had made itself felt beyond Palestine before Paul's Damascus experience so that the sources for Christian Messianism are lacking at two significant periods:

1- the transition consequent upon thedeath of Jesus when the mind of Jesus lived on in those whom He had gathered about Him and they came to identify the One they had known so intimately in Galilee as their Apocalyptic Messiah. In this the person who stands forth pre-eminent for insight is Peter (1 Cor 15:5; Mk 8:32).

2- The second transition where source material is likewise all but lacking was that which made Christianity no mere sect of Judaism but a religion in which there was no room for "Jew and Greek", the transition from Judaism to humanity. In this the early Extra-Palestinian Christians before Paul were the pioneers, for in reality these un-calendared saints of Stephen's line were already dis-regarding the barriers of race and status.

The obvious question in these two critical moments when Jesus was being re-interpreted is: "When Peter and James and the others knew themselves to be no longer companions of Jesus but di disciples of the Risen Christ did they subject Jesus to their older theological pre-conceptions or did they subject their Messianism to Jesus with whom they had lived?" When the Extra-Palestinian Christians called Jesus 'Lord' did they appropriate to the Risen and Exalted Jesus features of value in their Hellenistic religions or did they merely equate the word 'Kyrios' with the Jewish term 'Messiah' ?

The question admits of no certain answer until the Letters of Paul.

Paul, unlike the earlier apostles, was of the Dispersion, and schooled in the traditions of the fathers; his mother-tongue was Greek; his Bible was the Septuagint; and also unlike the apostles before him , he seems not to have known Jesus in the flesh.

Central for Paul in Christianity was the 'exalted Christ' and he leaves no doubt that this is none other than the Jesus of History, now risen from the dead.

Has then the Pharisee lessened his interest in the Torah and become an Apocalyptic Messianist? There is much in the letters, early and late, which show that Paul took over,- apparently from the primitive group and with very little modification,- the apocalyptic interpretation of Jesus. Other Messiah speculations have almost no place at all; but apocalyptic detail does bulk large, somlarge that some have maintained that this is the controlling factor in Paul's Christianity. That one trained in rabbinic Judaism might have been drawn into the eddy of Messianism was certainly possible: witness R. Akihba. Did Paul give himself as heartily, likewise even unto death, to apocalyptic Messianism? There are considerations which keep one from viewing the apocalyptic as central in Paul's interpretation. He introduces conceptions so alien to Apocalyptic Judaism that it would seem nearer the truth to regard these as primar and the apocalyptic as secondary. The Apocalyptic is called into contribution in the matter of the d distant past,- the pre-existence of the Messiah, and in the matter of the future,- life after death , the Parousia, and the angel world. Features which haveno parallel in apocalyptic speculation go to the heart of Paul's Christianity as these do not:

1. The new Messiah portrait which Paul draws has as

central feature the human life of One "born of woman". That Paul had excellent opportunity to learn the story of Jesus' life through his contact with the primitive community is clear#. The inference is well-nigh in-escapable that Paul had actually taught his hearers the story of that life in some detail:

i- He speaks of two events of that earthly life, the Last Supper, and the Death, Burial, and Resurrection,- quite by accident, for difficulty had arisen at two points where in seeking solution Paul finds it helpful to refer to what he had previously taught: "Which I also delivered unto you" is his courteous reminder to them that they should have remembered his narrative of the institution (1 Cor 11:23); cf. 1 Cor 15:3; 15:1.

ii- Similarly, though the occasion to rehearse the details did not present itself, he must have told of the crucifixion: (Gal 3:1f; 1 Cor 2:8; 1 Thess 2:15, - meaningless if Paul had not known that the readers were already familiar with the story). The date of the event (1 Cor 5:7), the suffering and humiliation (Gal 6:17; Mk 15:15; Rom 8:17; Phil 3:10; Gal 5:11; 6:12; 6:14), the spirit in which this was endured (2 Cor 13:4; Phil 2:8), a spirit to be copied (Phil 3:18), all told so casually that it can only mean that he knew they would recall.

iii- Traits of Jesus' character reflected in the Letters show that Paul must have acquainted his hearers with His life: sinlessness, postulated, it is true, of the Apocalyptic Messiah, hadbeen realized in One in the "likeness of flesh of sin" (Rom:

#Case, S.J., Paul's Historical Relations to the First Disciples, American Journal of Theology Vol 11, p 278ff.

8:3), humble (Phil 2:6), obedient (Rom 5:19), forgetful of self (2 Cor 8:9; Rom 15:3), meek and reasonable (2 Cor 8:9), lovable as loving (Rom 8:37) ; 1 Cor 6:22; 1 Cor 5:14; Eph 3:19). This was an ideal not hinted at in the masterful, militaristic apocalyptic Messiah of the Jewish hope.

iv- Paul saw in the life of Jesus a way of living worthy and capable of imitation: "Be .. imitators .. as I am of Christ" (1 Cor 11:1); the "mind" of Christ is to be emulated (Phil 2:5).

v- Paul says he has the word of the Lord on one or two points: "Yea, not I, but the Lord" (1 Cor 7:10; cf. Mk 10:2ff). So too 1 Corinthians 9:14 (cf. Mt 10:10),and the "He said" (1 Cor 11:23f). In 1 Thessalonians 4:15ff is a saying "of the Lord" not found elsewhere, which is used to correct an inherited apocalyptic conception (4 Ezra 13:24).

vi- Heb has so made the teaching of Jesus his own that he is under no occasion to use His very words : e:g., Jesus' summary of the Law (1 Cor 13:13; Gal 5:14; Rom 13:8, 10; Mk 12:28ff; Leviticus 19:18).

vii- Many words of Paul recall the words ascribed to Jesus in the Synoptics: "Know ye not ... leaven .. (1 Cor 5:6; Gal 5:9 οὐκ οἴδατε; - Cf. Mt 13:33 and Lk 13:21). Similar recollections of Jesus' words are : 1 Cor 13:2, cf. Mt 17: 20; 21:21; Rom 2:1, cf. Mt 7:1; Rom 2:6, cf. Mt 16:27; Rom 12:10, cf. Mk 9:34; Rom 10:14, cf. Mt 5:39.

viii- A few sayings about "inheriting the Kingdom of God", an expression which Paul uses rarely, are introduced in such way ast to bring to mind Matthew's expression (25:34) and in such way as to imply Paul had communicated the matter previously (e.g., προεῖπον Gal 5:21; 1 Cor 6:9; 1 Cor 15:50; Rom 14:17; Eph 5:5).

(1921)

ix- Paul justifies his own conduct by reference to the "mmekness" of Jesus (2 Cor 10:1ff), a trait of character hitherto proper only in slaves. Paul's seeming dis-regard for the life 'after the flesh' (2 Cor 5:16) was because some were priding themselves in that external acquaintance; the character of that life Paul had communicated to his churches.

2. The Death of Jesus is likewise alien to the Messianic hope of Judaism; popular expectation was in the other direction (Mk 8:31-33; Gal 4:11; 1 Cor 1:23).

3. The Resurrection of Jesus; it was not the Messiah of Jewish expectation that had appeared to Paul, but the Jesus,- whose un-messianic life the proud Pharisee had hated and whom Paul had seen alive after His cruel death and burial. It was just because of this humility andlove that God had raised Him from the dead (Phil 2:9 διὸ καί).

At this point clearly Paul uses much of the apocalyptic imagery; but the resurrection of Jesus was a fact of his own observation, an eschatological event, the first such. Last things had already begun. Paul found himself a new being in a new world, yet outwardly all things were as they had been. "In Paul apocalyptic conceptions have been in principle, whether more or less consciously, spiritualized"#.

It was the impact of the human life of Jesus, - exemplifying even unto death the life of love and humility to which Paul's being gave assent that that was the true life, - which most accounts for Paul's new Messiah portrait. To this Jewish apocalyptic has been subjected. The hard sayings of Jesus, so contrary to

Porter, Prof. F.C. Journal of Biblical Literature Vol xli p184ff (1922)

to the normal human values Paul sought to translate into life, and he left no doubt where he had learned them or where he would have others learn (1 Cor 10:33).

4. At one/other point Jewish apocalyptic fails to explain Paul's Christianity: the sacraments. The only influence of the apocalyptic is in the expression " Till he come" (1 Cor 11:26).

5. The activities of the new group were such as to call to mind an Old Testament messianic passage, Joel 2:28ff. But this older Jewish conception of the "Spirit" in explahation of the unusual and miraculous Paul subjects to the life-for-others of Jesus (1 Cor 14:37).

At the very places where Paul's inherited Judaism was unable to enclose the Jesus of Paul's redemption the other culture, Hellenism, contributes in part to the more adequate expression of his experience.

1. The Life of Jesus.

Of strict Jewish upbringing, Paul had yielded himself "slave" to Jesus Christ: to Him he prays, Him he loves, Him he classes with Yahweh, even using the same title 'Kyrios' for both either; and to Him he would have every knee bow.

Yet Paul's practice was at variance with his definitely expressed theology: there is only one God (1 Cor 8:4); he nowhere calls Jesus God; the subordination of the Son to the Father is enforced (Rom 15:5); and in the end "shall the Son be subjected to Him " (1 Cor 15:38).

Manifestly Paul subordinates Jesus Christ to Yahweh; yet Jesus Christ has divine functions; and when some would go beyond him in that speculative subjection Paul will brook no actual

subordination (Col 2:9; it is the earthly life of Jesus that is in mind, witness σωματικῶς "in ab body"). He is moving in the direction of the 'logos' solution of the dilemma (1 Cor 8:6). But only the direction which the matter was to take can bee seen: Paul does not sublimate Jesus Christ into a hypostasis in the divine substance. His experience permits him to set the two - devotion to Jesus and devotion to Yahweh, side by side, as not incompatible.

2. The Death of Jesus.

- This historical fact, this σκάνδαλον, Paul converts into more than a mere incident consequent upon the human life. With the resurrection it becomes the symbol of the new life as one of mystical union with Christ (Gal 2:19; Rom 6:3ff). Paul's use differs from that in the Gospels: there the Cross is to represent a personal relation of following; in Paul the union with Christ is so close that a "dying with Him" pictures it. The intrinsic probability is that the Hellenistic Mysteries contributed to the expression of his mystical experience.

3. The Resurrection.

Paul's characterization of the resurrection body as a - σῶμα πνευματικόν is half Hebrew and half Greek, - a contradiction in terms to the Greek but the Jew's effort to preserve personality while freeing life from the corruption of flesh and blood. As Christ had risen so Christians will rise. And Paul had ready at hand a happy analogy in the Mysteries.

Among the Jews the possibility of seeing one alive after death was not lacking, while in the Gentile world the idea was

quite prevalent; and where the fear of death was so powerful the functioning significance of the resurrection story was correspondingly great.

4. The Sacraments.

The two rites of the primitive Church paralleled two similar rites in the Mysteries; here normally in the formal expression of the cult-life the influence of the other ritual practices would show first. By the second century the rites had become magical. Some passages in Paul point the same way:

i- Baptism was an initiatory rite, "in the name of Jesus", when the 'bond against us was blotted out' . Paul allows to pass unchallenged the practice of vicarious baptism for the dead. Yet there are some considerations which keep one from going all the way in finding in Paul Christian Messianism has become a cult mediating salvation magically in baptism:- his insistence upon 'faith', the ethical requirement, and his own willingness to leave its performance to others.

ii- The Lord's Supper.

Three passages have been understood to mean that in Paul this rite had magical value: 1 Cor 10:4; 10:20; and 11:27ff,- i.e., the sacred elements were to the sacrilegeous as poison. Evidently there is a beginning in that appropriation of the vocabulary of the rites of the sacramentally efficacious cults. That there is in Paul the 'real-presence' of later Christainity is far from thetruth for redemption he conceives as so inward, and as exhibiting itself in ethical living; the presence of two forms,- the cup-bread and the bread-cup,- is against any sacramentarian conception.

iii- A third rite, circumcision, observed by some of the primitive Church, Paul definitely rejects; it was Paul whose insight into the universal character of religious need precipitated the struggle to free the new movement from the fetters of ethnic particularism, and so complete was the victory that it never again became an issue.

Messianism in the Synoptic Gospels is not confined to the Apocalyptic type: the Davidic-Messiah idea enters vitally into the representation of Jesus' life; it is in Q(P), in Mk, and in both genealogies. But the apocalyptic hope over-shadows the Davidic and is in all strands. The apocalyptic has received elaboration in the later tradition, and where the Jewish influence fails to account for the imagery parallels have been found in the texts of Hellenistic astrology.

p The Gospels purport to be a Life of Jesus, and it was the Life that was difficult to fit into the Messiansim of the Apocalypses. The dilemma which faced Paul in finding place for the Lord Jesus Christ in his monotheistic faith is un-resolved in the Synoptics but the movement is more clearly in the direction of Hellenization: witness the marks of the authentication of that life which had point beyond Judaism and whoch would appeal to the Greek mind, less hampered by the monotheistic postulate.

i- Miracles. Paul's Christian groups perform miracles, but the miraculous in Jesus is not put forth for evidential value,- though apocalyptic Judaism had some such hints. In the Synoptics the deeds of Jesus are gathered together under the further incentive for the miraculous from the Hellenistic world. With Paul it was

God Who raised Jesus from the dead; in Mark Jesus rises. Miracle activity is not absent from Q and the miraculous is heightened by thelater evangelists.

Divine Parentage

ii-/Paul thought of Jesus as 'Son of God' from and after the Resurrection (Rom 1:4; Phil 2:9); Mark begins with the Baptism; Matthew and Luke push the conception of that which Jesus was to Christians back, - past the Transfiguration, past Peter's Confession and the Baptism to the very birth, and before. This was a new element in estimating the significance of Jesus, an element foreign to Judaism but quite common in the Gentile world.

iii- The Death.

Hellenistic interest in seeking astrological signs accompanying significant events has entered into the story of Jesus' Death.

iv- Resurrection and Ascension: The Synoptic development is in the direction of Jewish interest. The possibility of reviving a dead body is taken for granted in the Synoptic narrative; in Hellenistic thinking the material conception of the ascension was lacking, the Greek being satisfied with the assurance that the'soul' of the departed had been seen to pass from the pyre. The reality of the resurrection was objectified in the dramatic pourtrayal of the Mysteries.

Conclusion

To primitive Christians Jesus was 'Messiah'; when Greeks found this 'Christian' Messiah worthy their devotion thought-forms other than those of Jewish origin were called into use. A beginning of that appropriation of the Hellenistic ways of expressing religious values is discernible in Paul, especially as touching the Dying and Rising Hero-God and His sacraments. The Greeks had Gods whom they had deified and whose mortal life had been no bar to such exaltation: in Paul Jesus Christ has ditine functions, though he subordinates Him to Yahweh.

In the Synoptic Gospels the normal Hellenistic ways are in evidence in evaluating the life and person of Jesus: of divine parentage, He is supernaturally endowed and gives His life in service to mankind.

The Fourth Gospel pourtrays Jesus upon earth as just what He had always been,- functionally God. The process culminates at Nicea: Jesus is the same οὐσία as God and that οὐσία is mediated to believers in miraculous sacraments.

HELLENIZATION OF CHRISTIAN MESSIANISM

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Statement of the Task.

Christianity had its rise in Palestine and among Jews whose sacred scriptures were mainly in Hebrew and whose daily speech was Aramaic. The estimate these primitive Christians formed of the Person supreme in their religious life was expressed by the Jewish term 'Messiah' . There were other characterizations among the Jews, such as 'Prophet' [1], and 'Sage' [2], or 'Wisdom' [3], which might have become controlling in their evaluation of Jesus and which did contribute in part to their expression of His religious significance for them. But the term which for more than a century had been gathering up into itself Jewish hopes and ideals the Jewish friends of Jesus [illegible] upon Him , and the Jewish term 'Messiah' surpassed all other attempts at evaluation.

INTRODUCTION

STATEMENT OF THE TASK.

Christianity remained for only a generation in Palestine and early within that generation had moved out to the Greek-speaking Jews, and to the Gentiles, too, beyond Palestine. In that new and larger world Jesus remained central in the religion of the Christian group; the term 'Messiah' was retained in its Greek equivalent 'Christ', and the Greek word went into the very name of the new group. This essay asks what changes in the conception

1/ Mk 6:4; Jn 4:19,44; 6:14.

2/ Sirach 6:8; 20:15;20:27,28,29; 21:11-17;31:13-22; 37:11-15.
4 Ezra 12:38; 24:26
Pirke Aboth 1:4,5,11,17; 2:11,14; 3:12; 6:1,6,9,10.

3/ Harris, R. The Origin of the Prologue to St John's Gospel, Cambridge, University Press 1917; Wisdom of Sol chapter 7.

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Christianity remained for only a generation in Palestine and early within that generation had moved out to the Greek-speaking Jews, and to the Gentiles, too, beyond Palestine. In that new and larger world Jesus remained central in the religion of the Christian group; the term 'Messiah' was retained in its Greek equivalent 'Christ', and the Greek word went into the very name of the new group. This essay asks what changes in the conception

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3/ Harris, R., The Origin of the Prologue to St John's Gospel, Cambridge, University Press 1917; Wisdom of Sol chapter 7.

of Saviour and of salvation took place when the religion,- whose Saviour had been acclaimed 'Messiah' on Jewish soil, and for Jewish folk with Jewish hopes, ambitions, ideals,- became estab - lished on Gentile soil, and when Jesus, the Messiah, came to have the value of 'Christ' for people of Gentile heritage.

The problem - still un-solved - of Jesus' messianic self-consciousness may be disregarded in this study, for whatever Jesus may have thought of his own mission , it was the significance He had come to have in the lives of men and women who sought to pass on to others the way of living they had learned from Him that made Him effectively their Messiah.

The task then will be to ask how Before the Christian era the Jews had thought salvation would be mediated to their nation, and to enumerate in some detail the attributes the Jews had ascribed to their coming Saviour. This is the study of the Jewish Background and of the Rise of Messianism.

The earliest Christian literature presents a Christian Messiah: on the background of that rich Jewish religion it will be necessary to read the Letters of Paul to see what features from Messianism he had appropriated in his evaluation of Jesus, and necessary - in particular- to ask if apocalyptic Messianism has controlled his conception of Saviour. The genesis of those attributes which Paul ascribes to Jesus Christ and which show no relation to Jewish Messianism must be sought. This is the Christian Messianism in Paul and the Hellenization of that Christian Messianism.

The same two-fold task as presented by the Synoptic Gospels naturally follows.

The entire essay is a genetic study, for the presence of Hellenistic thought-forms in the Christianity which produced the creeds of Christendom has long been recognized.

CHAPTER I

THE JEWISH BACKGROUND

THE JEWISH BACKGROUND

The transition between Palestinian and Extra-Palestinian Christianity was not so abrupt as might at first glance appear. Jesus' life was spent largely in Galilee: His earliest friends were Galileans; in Galilee they had lived together; from Galilee He had gone up with them to the fateful Passover, apparently for his first visit to the City and the Temple[4]. When the officials took Jesus into custody his friends all 'forsook him and fled' back to Galilee, it would seem.[5] In Galilee again they learned that they could not thus put Him out of their lives; in Galilee they were first assured that He Who had but a little while before become central in their lives was vital still. Galilee, the 'Galilee of the Gentiles'[6], was the cradle of the Christian faith and the Jewish homes in which this 'higher Judaism' had its rise were the Jewish homes of Galilee.

This most northerly province of Palestine, separated as it was from Judea and the Capital City by schismatic Samaria, was "a half-way house between the Judaism of Jerusalem and that of the Dispersion"[7]. "Judea was on the road to no-where, Galilee is covered with roads to everywhere" is George Adam Smith's terse putting.[8] The location brought the people of Galilee in

4/ "And he came into Jerusalem and into the temple and looked it all over; then as it was already late he went out with the Twelve to Bethany." Prof. E.J. Goodspeed's Translation Mk 11:11.

5/ Mk 14:50f

6/ Isa 9:1

7/ The Parting of the Roads ed by F.J.Foakes-Jackson, essay by W.K.L.Clarke p 178.

8/ Historical Geography of the Holy Land p 425

touch with the Greek world of commerce outside. Moreover, "he who wandered among the hills and valleys of Galilee was never far from great and populous city"[9]. The largest cities of the district were Tiberias, Sepphoris, and Gabara, all 'Hellenistic' cities.[10] Sepphoris, politically for a time the capital,- the "ornament of all Galilee"[11], thanks to Herod Antipas who had rebuilt it, was but five miles north and west of Nazareth. The presence of these Greek towns spoke persistently to the Galilean Jew of the greater Greek world beyond to which many of his own country-men had gone.

In Old Testament times this district was not a unit and its history is the history of very distinct tribes,- Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, and Naphtali. Galilee was the outer fringe of civilization for the Hebrews: there Phoenicians, Syrians, and Arameans touched them. From Babylonia the exiles returned to Judea but they seem never to have relinquished their ancient claim to Galilee.[12] At the time of the Maccabees the population was greatly mixed, Jews having been drawn there by economic forces. There Judaism and the great world beyond met, - it was still 'Galilee of the Gentiles',- and the sharp lines of demarcation were blurred. Even in Samaria some cities had not

9/ Quoted by George Adam Smith, op.cit. p 425.

10/Schürer, E., History of the Jewish People Eng tr Vol II i p 103 p 139, p 146. Cf Geschichte u s w 3rd ed I sec 22,23,33.

11/Josephus, Antiq XVIII ii 1

12/G.A.Smith, Jerusalem p 391f Cf Micah 7:14; Ps 60:6ff.

gone with the Samaritans in sacrificing upon Mt Gerizim, but had maintained their religious fellowship with the Jews at Jerusalem[13]. The hedge which Ezra and Nehemiah sought to plant about Judea only imperfectly protected the Jews of Galilee from Gentile contamination. Following the Maccabean revolt one of the first acts of Simon was to bring help to the brethren in the faith who in Galilee had been oppressed by the foreigner[14]. The Jewish population could not have been large then for Simon "took those that were in Galilee ... with their wives and children and brought them into Judea with great gladness".[15]

The actual judaizing of Galilee Schürer credits to Aristobulus, (105-104 B.C.)[16], - a half-century later when the authority of the High Priest was extended to Jews resident in that district.

At the opening of the Christian era the population had become mainly Jewish[17] and they retained their religious affiliation with their near-kinsmen at Jerusalem, not with the contiguous Samaritans[18].

13/ I Macc 11:34.

14/ I Macc 5:9-24.

15/ I Macc 5:23; Josephus Antiq XII viii 2.

16/ History Eng tr I i p 293f
Geschichte 3rd ed II p 7.

17/ "Still neither in Galilee nor Perea must one conceive of the Jewish element as pure or un-mixed. In the shifting course of history Jews and Gentiles had here been so often and in such a variety of ways thrown together that the attainment of exclusive predominance by the Jewish element must be counted among the impossibilities. It was only in Judea that this was at least approximately arrived at by the energetic agency of the scribes during the course of a century" Schürer, History Eng tr II i p 4.

Because of the differences in environment there grew up differences in the common religious practices between the Judaism of Judea[19] and that of Galilee.

18/ Dean Inge's characterization is the exaggeration which approximates the truth. He says: "It must be remembered that the Galileans had probably hardly a drop of Jewish blood in their veins. They were tolerated by the Jews in consideration of their strict and almost fanatical orthodoxy, while the heretical Samaritans, who were probably nearer to them in race, were detested; but the Jew never looked upon the Galilean as a member of his own tribe. Judea itself was the last place in the world from which the religion of the Greco-Roman Empire could have sprung"; - The Parting of the Roads; ed F.J. Foakes-Jackson p 4.

19/ E.g., there were slight differences in respect to marriage laws (Kethuboth iv 12a); in the intercourse between espoused persons (Jebamoth iv 10; Kethuboth i 5); in the customs at funerals (Shabbat 108a); in the treatment of widows (Kethuboth iv 14 cf. Yer Ket iv 14); there were differences in weights between Judea and Galilee: Terumoth v 8
10 sus weight of fish in Judea is 5 sela in Galilee
5 sela of wool in Judea is 10 sela in Galilee;
(Kethuboth v 9; Chullin xi 2; cf. "With what measure ye mete etc."); there was a difference in the observation of the 14th of Nisan: in Judea one worked till noon, - in Galilee not at all (Pesachim iv 5). The Galileans were reported strict in religious observances (Mo'ed Katan 23a; Pesachim 55a; Yer Rosh ha Shanah iv 6; Yer Sotah ix 10). Yet the study of the traditions was not one of their virtues ('Erubin 53a). The Galileans were quarrelsome (Hed 48a, Tosef, Git vi, Peah viii). Their provincial pronunciation prevented them from acting as readers of publis prayers (Megillah 24b) Cf. Mt 26:73. The probability of Galilee being bi-lingual (Greek and Aramaic) is far more likely than of Judea (Schürer Hastings Dictionary of the Bible Extra Volume p 41, p 48). Cf. Josephus of Jerusalem who admits he could not speak Greek with sufficient exactness though he had been at pains to acquire the langauge. His first book was in Aramaic though it was written in Rome ((Antiq XX xi 2). By some rabbis Galilee was regarded as outside Palestine and accordingly ritually unclean (Shabbat 14b, 15a).

Though it seems probable that the customs in the devout Jewish home in Galilee would differ in some details from the customs of the Jerusalem home, the Galilee of the Gospels is Jewish at heart. Yet there Hellenistic influences were more insistently immanent . Jerusalem had the Temple and Priests and the sacrifices: Galilee must be content with synagogue instruction and the long pilgrimage to the Holy City [20].

The data for recovering the religious life of the first century are meagre, - confined indeed to the literature which succeeding generations thought worthy to be preserved. The events of the Jewish War (66-70), the expulsion of the Jews from Jerusalem, the discontinuance of the pilgrimages and the priestly offices with the disappearance of the Sadducean party,- all shook the Jewish world to its very foundations:

"Zion has been taken from us,
And we have nothing now save the Mighty One and His Law" [21]

Judaism set about to preserve what could be rescued from the debacle, - namely "The Mighty One and his Law". At Jamnia their religious life centred still in the Torah.

Resultant Rabbinism, the work of the Pharisees, kept the Jewish people together after the Sadducean activities about the Temple ceased and that sect had disappeared. The rabbinic activity expressed itself in the formal canonization of the Old Testament and of the Talmud. With this tangential development of Judaism after 70 A.D. this essay is not concerned.

20/ Cf. Johanan ben Zakkai's saying "O Galilee, Galilee, thou that hatest the Torah", quoted in the Jewish Encyclopaedia Article Johanan ben Zakkai.

21/ II Baruch 85: 3

Galilee after the Fall of Jerusalem did become the centre of Judaism for a while, it is true, but as long as Jerusalem was standing the presumption is that in Galilee the pharisaic insistence upon the letter of the Law would be less acceptable than where the means for exhibiting its correct observance were at hand as in Jerusalem[22]. The disciples of Jesus do not seem to have been rudely shocked by their Master's criticism of the Law.

Much of the Jewish literature produced before the destruction of Jerusalem was definitely rejected by rabbinic Judaism. But without that neglected literature much of the Gospel background would be lacking. It is easily possible that the type of literature which was the expression of a deep religious life before the catastrophe might no longer call forth the psalm of thanksgiving from one who had lost all in staking all on Yahweh's aid in the revolt. The fact is that the apocalypses especially, which had cheered the Jews in days of distress were cherished by the Christians of the first century and neglected and disowned by the later Judaism[23]. Judaism before 70 A.D. was not merely

22/ Cf. Dr. Büchler in Expository Times, October, 1909. "Dr Büchler has assured us that scholars are under a serious misapprehension as to the extent to which the rules of Levitical purity were observed in Galilee by lay Jews". Parting of the Roads, ed by F.J. Foakes-Jackson, p 179.

23/ Excepting, of course, Daniel, which had so honorable a place in the life of the Maccabees that the list of the canonical books could not fail to include this.

rabbinic[24]; it was that aspect of Judaism known as legalistic Pharisaism that had ripened into the later rabbinism of the Talmud and the other channels in which the devotion of this people to Yahweh had been expressing itself, were barred by the operation of the Jewish doctrine of scripture and by the political events which left this people without Zion and Temple and Altar. Judaism determined to set itself steadfastly against de-nationalization and only in the refinements of the Torah was this happily done.

The religious life of the Jew before A.D. 70 was far from being confined to the study of the Torah. A large body of literature was produced by Judaism before this narrowing of interest crystalized into a written canonical Talmud. The Jew of Palestine did not have the same incentive towards creative literary productivity as the Extra-Palestinian who felt the urge of his literary Gentile neighbor. Yet the literature produced by the Jews of Palestine after the close of the Old Testament canon,- less in bulk it is true,- was never-the-less as varied as that produced by Extra-Palestinian Judaism, and doubtless mirrored a religious life that was quite as manifold as that of the devout Jew outside. The table below[25] of the

24/ Cf. Prof. G.F.Moore in Harvard Theological Review for July, 1921: "To Schürer Judaism was synonymous with legalism and legalism was his most cherished religious antipathy". This Professor Moore writes in estimating the contribution Schürer's 'History of the Jewish People' has made to the understanding of the origin of Christianity.

25/ Table of Important Jewish Literature Between the Testaments: For this I am indebted in large part to Prof. C.W.Votaw.

most significant Jewish works of the period (200 B.C. - 100 A.D.) will show at a glance that many-sided religious activity of the Jewish people of Palestine which is the background of the Early Christian Church.

25/ (Cont'd)

	PALESTINIAN	EXTRA-PALESTINIAN
Translation	The Targums	The LXX
History	I Maccabees	II Maccabees Josephus
Didactic Romance	Judith Jubilees	Ahikar Tobit III Maccabees III Ezra Additions to the Canonical Books Aristeas
Psalms	Canonical Maccabean Psalms of Solomon	Odes of Solomon
Apocalypses	Daniel I Enoch II Baruch IV Ezra	Sibylline Oracles II Enoch Adam and Eve
Wisdom	Sirach Testament of the Twelve Assumption of Moses Pirke Aboth Zadokite	II Enoch Aristeas IV Maccabees Wisdom of Solomon Philo.

Every form of literature to the credit of the Hellenistic Jew in that period between the Testaments the Palestinian Jew has also used to express his faith in Yahweh [26] ; no one type occupies the field to the exclusion of the others. To appropriate M. Caussé's words : that was a " communauté juive groupée autour de sa ville sainte, une population socialement très active, et d'une vie spirituelle intense, un milieu très petit et en même temps étrangement complexe" [27] .

26/ It seems quite impossible to separate the Palestinian productions into Judean and Galilean. Dr R.H.Charles gives it as hisopinion that Galilee is the home of the Apocalypses: "This literature (Apocalyptic) was written probably for the most part in Galilee, the home of the religious seer and mystic" Religious Development Between the Testaments p 9. How far this opinion is due to the influence of the Apocalyptic literature in Galilee witnessed in the Gospels and in the events of 66 A.D. and 132 A.D. can only be surmised. It seems certain that this form of literature must have found ready acceptance there.

Cf. Dr. W. Sanday in H.D.B. vol ii p 608a : "If we are right in thinking of the Apocalyptic Literature as in the main provincial etc"

Cf. F.C. Burkitt, Jewish and Christian Apocalypses, The Schweich Lectures 1913 p 30 : "If moreover the author came from the north, that helps to explain the influence the book (Enoch) had upon the religion that was cradled in Galilee".

Cf. N. Bentwich, Hellenism p 114: "It is probable that this literature appealed particularly to the Galilean 'Am ha-Arez, the common people of the north, and to the mixed population of the Hellenistic cities which had been only partially converted to Judaism".

27/ Revue d'Histoire et Philosophie religieuse Jan-Fev, 1921 p 60.

The religion of the Jew in this period had its roots in the Judaism of the earlier age. Yahweh had been Israel's tribal God, looked to for salvation from all the ills to which His people were subject. Until the Exile Yahweh's blessing in reward for piety had been prosperity and the prosperity of the people testified to Yahweh's favour. Though the Hebrews were a small people their geographical situation put them in touch with world-empires and such proximity had awakened the dream of world-dominion. But the Israelites did not attain to dominance in world-politics; theirs was ever a minor part to play. Their heathen neighbors,- whom they knew inferior,- triumphed and Yahweh's people paid tributes. The prophets had said it was because Israel was disobedient: 'Yahweh is a holy God; 'He is displeased at Israel' failure to do those things which 'show this people morally worthy to bear His name. He would 'be ashamed to have a nation triumph which acts as does this. 'Yahweh does not wish a strong nation but a holy people'. In the Exile the best had suffered most, and the returning remnant aimed at establishing a religious community so pure and holy that they would be worthy of the promises by the prophets of old: it was to be a wall for Jerusalem and a fence for the Torah.[28] The reforming zeal of Ezra and Nehemiah made the revolt under the Maccabees a possibility and a success. From that crisis there emerged the party of Puritans bent on preserving their national existence by rigid observance of the Law. This party stamped

28/ Pirke Aboth i 1.

its convictions upon the life of the people and their respect for the Torah which issued in the legalism of the Pharisees and the production and canonization of the Talmud is one of the aspects of the life of the people who gave the world the Messiah.

All the Palestinian literature, even where the main interest is in the Apocalypse and Wisdom, gives abundant evidence that the Torah was regarded as the revelation of Yahweh's will, the observance of which lay at the foundation of the Jewish religion of the period.

The rise of this emphasis upon the observance of the Law was occasioned by the pressure of the non-Jewish peoples upon the economy of devout Jews: the Law was their self-preservation. 29

29/ This is how a modern Jew speaks of this most characteristic feature of his religion:

"The Law was the sign of God's love for Israel; He had not given them a burden, but a glory. Every command as one fulfilled it was a reminder of that gracious love, that affectionate and yet ethical nearness. ... Take the analogy of a family on earth, where father and mother are intensely beloved. In such a family there may be number of little customs and rules,- how to sneeze, where to put the salt-cellar on the table, how to arrange the father's dressing-room or the mother's work-box - which are known only to the parents and children. With what delight do the children observe these regulations. With what happy memories they are associated! How each vies with the other to do them ww well! How many a laugh goes with the doing of them! Never do they become stale, never wearisome, never absurd. It was something of this sort that cropped up among the Jews as regards their relations to the Law and to God. ..

"A legal religion. Yes, but a religion which culminated in the view that for God's sake, and for His law's sake, for the pure love of God and for the pure love of His Law must all commands be fulfilled,- that the intention is even greater than the deed, and that thoughts of sin are even more serious than the sin itself.

"A strange legalism."

C.G. Montefiore in Jackson-Lake Beginnings Vol I p 59f.

The first and most pervasive characteristic of the religion of the period is the emphasis upon the Torah. One result, significant for this study, was that the development of Judaism in the direction of legalism led increasingly to an insistence upon ethical living. The mystical elements are quite absent. Upright living in confromity with Yahweh's Law is what Yahweh delights in,- not in mystical communion[30]. Jewish literature which has come from that Judaism which had Hellenistic contacts does show marks of mysticism as in Philo and in the Wisdom of Solomon; but in Palestinian Judaism this is negligible[31].

A second characteristic feature of the Jewish religion out of which Early Christianity has come was the Apocalypse.

From 200 B.C. on until the religion of the Jews had narrowed down to talmudic Judaism, i.e., legalism, their religious writers created and developed a new vehicle for the declaration to a discouraged people of the righteousness, the justice, the mercy, and the power of Yahweh, viz., the Apocalypse. It may be nearer the truth to say that in these writings is preserved a type of religious education popular in the oral instruction of the day. The Apocalypse is peculiar to Judaism, and to Early Christianity. Judaism rejected this genre[32] eventually

30/ "The Jewish mind and character, in spite of its deeply religious bent, was alien to mysticism ... .. The Jew had little sense of the Divine in Nature; it was the power of God over Nature which he was jealous to maintain." W.R. Inge in 'Christian Mysticism', 1899, Scribners p 40.

as did Christianity and it is difficult now to appreciate the popularity of this type which was such a radical departure from the direct, conventional, canonized, "Thus saith the Lord" of the prophets. To place the titles of these apocalypses beside the titles of the other literature of their producing will not show the interest these works aroused; for , of the three apocalypses named above (foot-note 25), each is a collection of several apocalypses [33]. Moreover it may be that others , e.g., from the Wisdom section(foot-note 25) should be put under this caption [34]. And there survive even in the New Testament traces of Apocalyptic details not known in the extant Apocalypses [35].

31/ "In Jewish writings of a later period composed under Greek influence, we find plenty of Platonism ready to pass into Mysticism. But the Wisdom of Solomon does not fall within our subject and what is necessary to be said about Philo and Alexandria will be said in the next lecture". Dean Inge in Christian Mysticism p 43.

32/ Not without the claim for the Apocalypse being urged, however. See Charles, R.H., Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament Vol II on 4 Ezra 14 , especially 14:46.

33/ See Charles A.P.O.T. for I Enoch Vol II pp 168-170;
II Baruch "" " pp 474f;
IV Ezra "" " p 551.
"Every apocalypse which we possess seems to be made up of fragments of earlier works belonging to the same type". Foakes-Jackson - Lake, Beginnings of Christianity Vol I p 133.

34/ R.H. Charles in the Encyclopaedia Britannica 11th ed vol 2 pp 171ff adds the Testament of the Twelve, the Psalms of Solomon, and the Assumption of Moses to the Palestinian Apocalypses.

35/ Prof. E.F. Scott in the Journal of Religion, July 1921, p 419 : "It can be gathered from various allusions in Paul's

Furthermore, the wide-spread popularity of this method is witnessed to by the fertile field Christianity found in this way of thinking: Christianity started in this soil[36].

On the other hand it should be borne in mind that the Apocalypse did not appeal to all sections. E.g., the Sadducees and the strictest Pharisees were un-touched by this literature, even hostile to it[37]. There is some Pharisaic literature in which the Apocalypse has no place.

It is true that none of the Apocalypses save Daniel (and parts of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Joel, and Zechariah) got a place in the Hebrew canon. The events about 165 B.C. would explain the honored place Daniel had in Jewish life; but the events about 70 A.D. and 135 A.D. would warrant the Jews in suppressing the glorified pictures of the future triumph; for

35/Cont'd.
"Epistles that he was acquainted with a number of Messianic speculations which lay outside the ordinary tradition". E.g., Rom 8:22; I Cor 2:7ff; Phil 2:6ff. It may be that these passages echo other than Messianic speculations, not Jewish at all.

36/ See Loisy, A. ' L'Apocalyptique chretienne ' in Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuse Jan-Av 1922.

37/ "A large number among the Rabbis took up a hostile attitude to Apocalypse." Charles A.P.O.T. Vol II at Ezra 14. The very name given the seer seems chosen with design to conciliate the legalists; to them Ezra is father of legalism they so cherish and to put his name to an Apocalypse would help to effect the recognition of the apocalypse as officially a part of the oral tradition.

Johanan ben Zakkai "God revealed to Abram this world, but the world to come he did not reveal to him"[38]. And it was this Johanan ben Zakkai -who found no revelation of the world to come in the Apocalypses- who more than any other gathered Judaism together again and gave new vigour to the downcast people in the colony at Jamnia. Rabbi Akiba , on the other hand pinned his faith to Bar-Cochba as Messiah, and gave his life a martyr to this ephemeral hope[39].

Several factors contributed to account for the exclusion of the apocalypse from the canon:

(i) the events about the Fall of Jerusalem seemed to disappoint all the high hopes of the Jewish people;

(ii) the growth of a theosophy among the Jews, against which the rabbis set their faces sternly, led to the discrediting of the apocalypse[40];

(iii) the date of the writing of the apocalypses would be so near to the date of the canonization of the more venerable writings of the Jews that the inclusion of this newer literature would violate their sense of the fitness of things;

(iv) the Christian movement had become a separate movement with attachments to the apocalyptic developments of the Jews and the relations of the Jews and Christians were so strained after 70 A.D. that to add to the accredited Scriptures books which the Christians used so aptly to interpret their borrowed Jewish Scriptures would merely give to the Christians one

38/ Ber . rab 44 (On Genesis xv 18).

more weapon against the religion from which they had sprung.

The Apocalypse is secret knowledge: the Law is for all, this[41] knowledge of the future is for the elect. The authors, too, are veiled in the names of age-old worthies, Enoch and Noah, Abraham and Moses, Ezra and Baruch. These have the godly secret received on some occasion in Heaven or heard through some angel; now they reveal this secret knowledge.

All are pseudonymous, all except the Apocalypse of John and that of Hermas. In the absence of more definite data as to the Jewish attitude to authorship it seems best to say that the apocalyptists were pleased so to write[42]; they would present their tracts for the times in the name of some honored saint of Israel, long dead. Anonymity would have brought the writer sanctuary quite as well as pseudonymity; their Wisdom literature was also pseudonymous.[43]

39/ See Klausner, Joseph Die Messianischen Vorstellung d jud Volkes im Zeitalter der Tannaiten; Krakau, 1903 p5.
Jerus Thaanith IV 5.
Also Journal Biblical Literature January 1922 on the relation of the apocalyptic to the synagogue.

40/ Foakes-Jackson-Lake Beginnings of Christianity Vol I p 135.

41/ 4 Ezra 14:45.

42/ Sc Prof. C.W.Votaw. Cf. Tertullian on the 'Acts of Paul' in de Baptismo, xvii : "But if the writings which wrongly go under Paul's name claim Thecla's example as a license for women's teaching and baptising let them know that in Asia, the presbyter who composed that writing, as if augmenting Paul's fame from his own store, after being convicted and confessing that he had done it out of love of Paul, was removed from office".

43/ Charles explains this pseudonymity as due to the fact that canonisation and the evil times had made it unsafe to publish the author's name. I Enoch 2nd ed page x.

The religious life of the period expressed itself in another way besides through the Torah and the Apocalypse,- through the Wisdom Literature.

A leisure class has little place in pioneering: there are so many elemental things to be done, and "Wisdom cometh by opportunity of leisure"[44]. But with the development of the nation's natural resources and the emergence of the individual, through peace and industry there come to some a measure of wealth and quiet and leisure,- and to the thoughtful few that detachment which makes it possible for them to stand off and as they see themselves with their fellows hurrying by to the end to ask 'Whence and whither and why?'

The religion of these 'humanists' will not express itself characteristically in the keeping of the Law or in the highly colored apocalypse. The "Wise-Man" uses these channels[45], but he has also his own peculiar thought-forms. In Israel it came to be called Wisdom-literature.

The rise of the sage is no isolated phenomenon, found only in Judaism[46]. But in Judaism his thinking came to have religious value for his fellows and some was put alongside the holy Law and the sermon of the busy prophet and the vision of the Apocalyptist.

44/ Ben Sirah

45/ E.g., 4 Ezra has all three, reverence for the Torah, the apocalyptic vision of the seer, and Wisdom writing.

46/ Caird, E. Evolution of Religion.

The prophets were dead, - the men of God now were the priests and scribes. The Wise-Man, a layman at first (Job 29:7), seated at the gate of the city, respected of all, judge to his fellows and advisor in the difficult art of living, has in Sirach's time become a professional. He had travelled widely,- which fact gave him the experience to speak with some authority on the practical issues of life. Many of the individual proverbs of Jesus can be found in the Wisdom Literature from the Inter-Testament period, but to no one has such a group of supremely religious comments on living with one's fellows been credited.[47]

The Wise-Man was aristocratic; his profession was above the trades; he speaks with scorn of the labourer and the blacksmith and the potter (Sirach 38:24 to 39:11). He looks with disdain on those who are ignorant yet calls on all to hear his words of wisdom.

There are in the Wisdom literature of the Jews two seemingly opposed features,- universalism and individualism. Yet Wisdom literature is the expression of a life which lacks the élan for action; though it enters into the religious inheritance of the earliest Christians by itself it would not have issued in the new movement. "Il lui manque la foi mystique et l'élan pour l'action. La religion ne consiste pas seulement dans la connaissance, là c'est le coeur qui se donne à Dieu et l'action pour le salut du monde".[48]

47/"The God of Jesus is the God of the Jews about whom he says nothing which cannot be paralleled in Jewish literature". Foakes-Jackson -Lake Beginnings Vol I p 288. Cf Nineteenth

The history of the period - I Maccabees - must have brought the devout Jews the sense of Yahweh's ever present salvation. And the religious educator of the time did not lack stories modelled after the canonical Esther ,- as Judith and Jubilees.

Through all the aspects of the many-sided Jewish religion of the period (200 B.C.- 100 A.D.) runs the hope of Yahweh's salvation,- now to be brought about by His own power and initiative, - now through His Anointed One. That gleam grows the brighter as into greater explicitness emerges the picture of the Coming One, Anointed to the task.

Messianism, as the Messianic Age, or the Messianic Kingdom, or the Messianic Banquet, or the Messiah Himself, adds its heightening effect to all the aspects of this varied Judaism:

a- For those whose lives centered in the punctilious observance of the Torah the end of such faithful keeping of Yahweh's Law was that the Kingdom might come. "The Messiah "cannot come until the people repent and perfectly fulfill "the Law "[49] "He - the Messiah - shall destroy them without "labour by the Law"(4 Esra 13:29).

47 Cont'd/ Century and After July 1921 by E.G. Holmes; Church Quarterly Review January 1921 by A.C. Headlam; Journal of Theological Studies April 1921 by C.A. Scott. In all these the sentence above is quoted, objection is taken to the first statement, but the latter is accepted.

48/ M. Caussé in article cited above.

49/ Schürer, E. History of the Jewish People Vol II ii p 163 Eng tr. Cf. Weber, F. Jüdische Theologie, Leipzig, 1897 p 348f which quotes Pesikta 103b : "Wenn ganz Israel

b- The literature of the Apocalyptists is without the Messianic idea at times it is true, but more details of the Messiah ideal come from this type than elsewhere; sometimes the Golden Age will be inaugurated by Yahweh Himself, sometimes the Messiah is assigned no rôle at all in the new age; but it is also from this literature that the clearest picture of the Messiah can be drawn.

c- In the Wisdom Literature the thought of a Messianic Age is not entirely lacking, though often it is Yahweh who will bring it about; then sometimes it is impossible to say that a book should be of one class only; e.g., the Psalms of Solomon, especially Psalms 17 and 18, presents the clearest picture of the Coming Anointed One.

Thus the Jewish people at the beginning of our era were enjoying a period of religious activity, to which the varied literature is witness; this religious revival did not express itself in one way to the exclusion of all others; the religious life of the community was advanced by the narration of the heroic deeds of the Maccabean period in sober history; the doinginto Aramaic of the Hebrew Scriptures in its way ministered to the yearnings of the people; two types of religious education already present in the Old Testament were devel-

49 Cont'd/"zusammen einen Tag lang gemeinsame Busz thäte, so würde die Erlösung durch den Messias erfolgen"
Schabbath 118b "Wenn Israel nur zwei Sabbate hielte, wie es sich gebührt so würden sie sofort erlöst ".

oped, namely the Apocalypse and Wisdom literature; even the story was used for edification. One conception developed in the period which was destined to outstrip all others, namely Messianism.

One man finds comfort and encouragement in his distressing situation by listening to a reasoned statement of the sovereignty of God and the meaning of suffering; another in the same or similar circumstances is strengthened by the vivid pictures of the Apocalypse. "The needs of men are not the same universally; the human adjustment may relate to conduct or to speculation, to distress at life's chain of torment or to fear of extinction. ... For one man shall find his peace in action, another in the rejection of action, even in the seeming destruction of desires. Another shall have peace and freedom through intellectual inquiry, while another must obey his God.." [50] The story of how so varied a salvation would come to the Jews from God in the Messianic Age/ sometimes through a Messiah, sometimes through God directly is the subject of the next chapter.

50/ H.O. Osborne , in 'Deliverance' page 4.

CHAPTER II

MESSIANISM

MESSIANISM

Messianism has a long history even antecedent to the Old Testament [1]. Dr Oesterley has traced the genesis of the idea of this happy deliverance from the ills of life to the elemental characteristics of early man,- namely , superstitious fear due to animistic conceptions in the presence of the stern forces of nature, the sense of dependence consequent thereon, and the desire to be happy ingrained in the heart of man. This combination of traits in primitive man has resulted in the wwide-spread, even world-wide, pictorial representations [2] of the eventually happy issue of that struggle which seems to characterize that life. Man, least at home on the water, yet forced to live by the water, early looked upon the forces which produced the catastrophes he knew,- floods and storms,- as antagonistic to him; his salvation must come from one who would overcome these sea-monsters; the consummation was in the day-dreams of a Golden-Age, yearnings and aspirations handed on from generation to generation, until the tradition came to be regarded as the echo of something that had, once upon a time, actually happened.

1/ Oesterley, W.OE. , The Evolution of the Messianic Idea, Putnam, 1908.
Cf Gressmann, Der Ursprung der israelitischen Eschatologie Goettingen , 1905.

2/ Op. cit. page 27.
Cf. Volz Jüdische Eschatologie p 215 re Son of Man: "Was ist aber die Wurzel dieser Vorstellung vom apokalyptischen Menschen? Es ging wohl aus alter Zeit her die Sage von einem Urmenschen, den Gott als Kämpfer gegen die Urtiere, gegen die dämonischen Ungeheuer geschafften hatte".

The stories which have arisen from these primitive philosophical ventures group themselves about the 'Tehom' or Sea-Dragon Myth[3], the 'Yahweh' or Heilbringer Myth[4], and the 'Paradise- or Golden-Age Myth[5]. Into the Old Testament there have entered reflections of these primitive myths which the Hebrews shared with other peoples,- not necessarily through some common source or original, but because of common experience, - reflections which show the age-long floating myth-material utilized and adapted to the developing spiritual conceptions of the Hebrews.

In historical times the Hebrews had effected a unification of these and to Yahweh was ascribed the rôle of both Destroyer and Deliverer; Yahweh had become the cause of all super-natural activities, beneficent and other.[6] Hence in the Old Testament the problem of suffering is a very pressing one for the monotheistic Yahweh worshippers.

The use of the term 'Messianic' or 'Messianism' for that happy future in store, irrespective of how it was to be brought about, comes from the development which took place in the thinking upon that glorious Utopia. From the thought of a deliverance, from the thought of a Blessed Age on ahead, they turned to speculate as to how it would be brought about. Of course it would be Yahweh who would effect the transformation.[7]

3/ E.g., Isa 27:1

4/ E.g., Ps 104: 5-9

5/ E.g., Isa 2:2-4.

6/ Case, S.J., Millenial Hope page 49.

7/ E.g., 4 Ezra 6 conceives the End of the Age as coming by the agency of God alone.

"We hope in God, our Deliverer" (Ps Sol 17:3). But He would have a Helper, One 'Anointed' to the task; this "Anointed One", this Messiah of later thinking has lent his name to the earlier creations. In the greater number of Old Testament passages which speak of a glorious future there is no Messiah at all: Yahweh is Himself the Deliverer or Judge. (Isa 2:2-4). Yet the passages are spoken of as Messianic; because of this reading back into the earlier idealizations the name which came to be associated with the later developed conception much confusion results.

So Messianism has come to be the technical term for "that fixed social belief of the Jewish people that Yahweh would deliver Israel and erect it into a glorious empire to which a conquered world would be subject"[8]. It is used popularly to express the desire for that adjustment with the facts of life which is wider than the hope of a personal Messiah, and is rather the dream of the glorious future rid of the factors which now make life hard. Some have thought so to delimit the term that it might express only such hopes as imply a personal Messiah[9]. But no word is conveniently at hand to express that utopian future. It was It was a later Age that came to find its hopes advanced by postulating a personal Messiah who would be Yahweh's instrument in ushering in that Kingdom which would be their salvation.

8/ Mathews, S. The Messianic Hope page 3.

9/ E.g., Foakes-Jackson-Lake, Beginnings Vol I p 270.
Emmett Article 'Messiah' in Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
Stanton, V.H. The Jewish and Christian Messiah, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1886 , page 99 note.
Lake , K. Landmarks of Early Christianity p 20.

Christian Messianism is a further development in the conception of salvation: it implies a salvation, mediated by a personal Messiah who is known, namely Jesus.

SAVIOURS who are other than Messiahs.

When Messianism had implicit a personal Messiah but had not yet become 'Christian Messianism' what is the picture that can be pieced together of Yahweh's Salvation- Bringer?

The first thing worthy of note is that in the period immediately preceding the Christian era there were many persons who were looked to to usher in Yahweh's salvation,- i.e., besides the Messiah. That Yahweh would eventually bring salvation seems not to be questioned; that rich religious faith in the certainty of Yahweh's rescue is evidenced in the varying personages who are to be His agents.

(a) The Prophet.

Frequently it is that earlier figure in Hebrew history who is now looked upon as the one who will arise and bring salvation. (I Macc 4:41-46 ; 14:41; t Levi 8).(Cf t Benj 9:2). Philo, of Alexandria, regards the coming of the 'prophet' as the inauguration of the new era (de Monarch 9). Josephus, also of the Extra-Palestinian Judaism, tells of many 'false prophets' who set themselves up as 'prophets' claiming to bring their people salvation : Antiq XX v re Theudas, "He told them he was a prophet". Antiq XX viii re the Egyptian impostor: 'One that said that he was a prophet'. Cf Bell II xiii : "Pretended to be a prophet". This 'prophet' would imitate Moses; Antiq XX viii. Cf. Mt 16:14 and parallels, Mt 21:11, 46;

Mk 6:15; Lk 7:16; Lk 7:39; Lk 9:8; Jn 1:21; 7:40; 7:52; 9:17.

Sometimes the expected prophet is some famous one of the distant past returning with salvation. Moses, e.g., Giver of the Law, rose in esteem with the increasing reverence accorded the Torah. Sirach 45:1 recounts the deeds of Moses. He is Yahweh's"chief prophet throughout the world" (Ass Mos 11:16). Moses is made to say: "The Lord hath on their behalf appointed me to pray for their sins and make intercession for them" (Baruch II 59:3f). God"showed him many admonitions together with the principles of the Law and the consummation of the times" (II Baruch 59:3; 4 Ezra 14:4). Philo has several references to the high place Moses holds (Vita Mos I 28). Rabbinic theology likewise ranks Moses high (See Volz, Jüdische Eschatologie, p 191). Not merely a 'prophet like unto Moses', but Moses himself was to come. (So Jochanan ben Sakkai debarim 10 1). Cf. Sib V 256, which Charles regards as a Christian interpolation but which some (Blass and Volz) regard as referring to Moses, Exodus 17:12. Cf. Mk 9:4f; Mt 17:3f; Lk 9:30-33; Jn 9:28.

Sometimes it is Elijah who brings Yahweh's help. "Behold, I will send you Elijah, the prophet, before the great and terrible day of Jehovah come" (Mal 4:5). It is Elijah, who in Sirach 46:10 is to'turn the heart of the father unto the son' and to 'restore the tribes of Jacob'. In Enoch 90:31 "that ram" who seized Enoch's hand for the last judgement is Elijah (Enoch 89:52). In the Extra-Palestinian Sirach (48:10) Elijah himself is to discharge the task of the Messiah, for he is to "restore the tribes of Jacob". Acts 1:6 seems to point to a belief that this is the work of the Messiah and not of the fore-runner.

In rabbinic theology, especially in the Mischna, does Elijah figure prominently. (See Volz p 192) "Diese Stellen zeigen zugleich, dass man das Kommen des Elia und der Heilszeit in nächster Nahe sich dachte." Sometimes in this rabbinic literature the two, Moses and Elijah, are placed together. (Cf Mk 9:4)

Jeremiah is also named: In II Maccabees Jeremiah is an agent of Jahweh: "Jeremiah ... of exceeding glory .. stretching forth his hand delivered to Judas a sword of gold, "Take the holy sword, a gift from God, wherewith thou shalt smite down the adversaries". (II Macc 15:14 ff). In Baruch Jeremiah is sinless, (9:1). "Jeremiah, whose heart was found pure from sins". (Cf Mt 16:14).

"The men who have been taken up, who have not tasted death from their birth", these are the ones who will "appear". (4 Ezra 6:26). Enoch, Elijah, Ezra, Baruch, and Daniel are of this group. "He (Enoch) was taken from amongst the children of men and we conducted him into the Garden of Eden in majesty and honour." Jub 4:23. "A whirl-wind carried me off from the earth". Enoch 39:3. "While living among sinners he (Elijah) was translated". Wisd 4:10. (Cf Enoch 89:52; II Enoch 36:2). "For thou shalt be taken up from among men, and hence forth thou shalt remain with my Son and with such as are like thee, until the times be ended": IV Ezra 14:9. (Cf.4 Ezra 14:49, 14:14). Of Baruch: "Thou shalt surely depart from this earth, nevertheless not unto death, but thou shalt be preserved unto the consummation of the times". (II Bar 76:2). II Baruch assigns to Baruch the task of testifying at the consummation: 13:3 "Because thou hast been astonied at what has befallen Zion, thou shalt therefore assuredly be preserved to the consummation of the times, that thou mayst be for a testimony".

Similarly Daniel is to return apparently for an appointed part in the final act: "But go thy way till the end be; for thou shalt rest and shall stand in thy lot at the end of the days". (Dan 12:13).

Enoch

Enoch plays an important rôle in the thinking in regard to Yahweh's salvation: he is, as was Baruch, to be witness-bearer "Enoch's office was ordained for a testimony to the generations of the world, ... till the day of judgment." Jub 10:24; II Enoch 19:5; In II Enoch 64:5 Enoch is called "redeemer of the sins of man". Cf II Enoch 40:13, 53:2.

Enoch 71 says in response to Enoch's query:

71:14 "Thou art the Son of Man who was born unto righteousness". (Charles emends to read "This is the Son of Man ...") The scene takes place in Heaven, God and the Angels come out to meet Enoch and Enoch is shown God's Dwelling-place.

(Volz raised the interesting question that if this is a Christian interpolation, what then is the relation of Enoch to Jesus Christ the Son of Man ? (See page 194.).

A prophet, sometimes a former prophet, or a pair, persons of such known achievement in past history in Israel as to merit escape from death, all in varying circles are agents of Yahweh in salvation. Sometimes the agent is designated an angel.

(b) Angel:

Israel has a guardian angel: "They and all the people ... made supplication unto the Lord to send a good angel to save Israel".(II Macc 11:6.Cf II Macc 10:29f). "O Sovereign of the heavens, send a good angel before us to bring terror and trembling", is the prayer in II Maccabees 15:23. "Mine angel is with you".(Ep Jer 6). Jubilees 35:17: "For the guardian of Jacob is great and powerful" (Charles says

that this is the earliest reference to belief in guardian angels.) Enoch 89f is a pictorial representation of the past of Israel; over the tribes are stars, angels, shepherds.

t Levi "I am the angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel". (5:6).

t Dan "Draw near unto God and unto the angel that intercedeth for you". (6:2).

This guardian angel is often named Michael, as in Daniel, (Cf-Dan 10:13 10:21, 12:1, Jude Rev 9, 12:7.) Jude and The Apocalypse of John. Enoch 9:1 - "Then Michael .. looked down from Heaven". In II Enoch 22:6 Michael is called the 'archistratege'. In I Enoch 71:13, 14 Michael takes charge of Enoch. In I Enoch 20:5 he is put in charge 'over the best part of mankind', i.e., Israel, as else where. In I Enoch 24:6 he is the 'leader' of 'the holy and honored angels'.

Other angels are named as e.g., Gabriel, Phanael, etc.

These angelic persons have part in the redemption of Israel: In the Ass Mos 10: If "Then his kingdom shall appear throughout all his creation, And then Satan shall be no more, And sorrow will depart with him; Then the hands of the angel shall be filled, Who has been appointed chief (i.e., Michael) And he shall forthwith avenge them of their enemies". In I Enoch 46:1 "The Head of Days", i.e., The Everlasting One Yahweh, has beside him "Another Being" whose countenance had the appearance of a man and his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels".

Summary:

Besides the strictly Messianic passages, which will be grouped in the next section, the testimony of the literature points to a variety of expressions used by the devout Jewish leaders to set forth their

unbounded faith in Yahweh's salvation. It seems unnecessary to assume, as Volz does,[10] that these are Messianic expressions; that these are Messianic is true if the term Messianic is used in the sense that these persons are conceived as agents of Yahweh in salvation. But it does not seem needful to infer that 'prophet was a Messianic title. "Das heisst also: wenn ein Prophet durch Wunderthaten die Heilszeit herbeiführt verdient er ihr Konig, ihr Messias zu sein".[11] This is said in explanation of John 6:14; the voice of God in the 'prophet' had been the characteristic creative force in the Jewish culture; from at least the 8th century on the prophets had influenced the Jewish people for good. Surely God will continue to use that method which once had been so potant.' Little wonder that afterward the Christians - when they found that Jesus was surpassing their fondest dreams of Yahweh's salvation - came to attach to Him all the thought-forms that the resourceful Jewish people had used to give form to their religious hopes.(Cf. Mt 5:12;10:41;13:57;14:5;16:14;Mt 21:11;21:26;21:46;23:30;Mk 6:4; 6:15;8:28;11:32; Lk 4:24;6:23;7:16;7:26;7:39;9:8;11:49;13:33; 13:34;20:6;24:19; Jn 1:21;1:25;4:19;4:44;6:14;7:40; 7:52;8:52; 8:53;9:17 Acts 3:22 etc.)

Similarly with other expressions from whatever culture they are drawn; angels yield their appealing characteristics in a delineation of Jesus Christ: He is above all such but in the interests of monotheism worship of these is forbidden;(Col 2:18).

10/ Jüdische Eschatologie page 196

11/ John 6:14f is the occasion for this inference that here the two streams meet.

So, too, the concept 'Kurios', 'Rabbi', even 'Sophia' and 'Logos'; not to mention 'Son of Man', are all called upon to do service in the efforts of the Early Christians to describe for others the salvation they had experienced in Jesus.

In the circle which looked for the return of Moses with salvation, the relation of Moses to Yahweh seems to be so intimate that there is no room for another, i.e., for the Messiah. (Ass Mos 11:16.) Similarly where Elijah was conceived as the mediator of salvation; Volz suggests that the returning Elijah was too great a figure to be asked to play the role of Forerunner of the Messiah! But by the time of Justin Martyr, Elijah is to have the honour of anointing the Messiah. (Dial Try chapter 49 & 8.) But, of course, this is after the Life of Jesus. One would wish to know where Trypho got the idea. He says "We all expect .. that Elijah when he (the Christ) comes will anoint him". Trypho argues, as do the scribes (Mk 9:11), that as Elijah has not returned the Messiah has accordingly not come. From the Gospels and from Justin it appears that Elijah was intimately connected with the expected advent of the Messiah; yet in the extant Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic literature, Elijah has rare mention. In the rabbinic literature, on the other hand Elijah figures prominently.

In the Parable section of Enoch (I Enoch 37:71) 'the Son of Man' is the significant figure in the restoration of the heavenly kingdom.

The Angel of Ass Mos 10, Enoch 90 and Dan 12 leaves no room for a Messiah.

Enoch, Daniel, Ezra and Baruch are the heroes of the Apocalyptic Books; Moses is the hero of the circle of those who

find their life in the Law; Elijah seems to be the hero of popular eschatology, as the evidence of the Gospels establishes, backed by the witness of Justin.

So the Messiah idea was a many sided expectation. The various groups of Jews each had its own peculiar emphasis in the expectation; the Pharisees would hope differently from the Essenes, the Priestly class from the Political; the Apocalyptists from the Lovers of the Law, the Educated from the masses, and the Zealots would hope differently from the Pacificists.

THE MESSIAH

Passages Implying a Personal Messiah

1. The Old Testament Apocrypha is singularly free from any reference to a personal Messiah, employing, rather, as was seen other names to the Saviour-agent. I Maccabees speaks of the perpetuation of David's throne but this can only be through reverence for the great king of the past; Rome is praised (8:14) and a treaty with that power is effected with no word of disapproval from the author. Accordingly the reference in I Maccabees to David inheriting 'the throne of a kingdom forever and forever' (I Macc 2:57) can have no reference to the familiar national Messiah-idea then current. Judith, Tobit, and Baruch, do not mention the Davidic hope at all. But 4 Ezra speaks differently of Rome: 12:32 "The Messiah ... from the seed of David shall rebuke them," i.e., "shall rebuke Rome". And Ezra alone of the Apocrypha has the Messianic hope.

2. Some Jewish Prayers do speak of a renewal of the Davidic rule or of the Messiah, but no fixed role is assigned to

the Messiah; more often it is Yahweh who does all. (So Volz page 197). Similarly, in rabbinic theology, the Messiah concept is not advanced appreciably. "Was die Rabbinen interessiert, das ist mehr das Kommen des Messias an sich, als seine Art und Thatigkeit. Hierin zeigt sich wie der Messias fur den Juden ein Wertbegriff war, identisch mit dem Kommen der Heilzeit, nicht eigentlich eine lebensvolle, persönliche Gestalt." (Volz page 198) (Cf.Professor Margoliouth in Expositor for January 1925 "In general it may be stated that the Jews of this period ... i.e., "later than the Fall of Jerusalem when their literature, having been preserved by the Jews themselves, is unlikely to have been inter-polated by Christians ... the Jews of this period agree with the Christians about the promise of a Messiah but differ about the person in whom the promise was to be realized."[12]

5 Psalms of Solomon, numbers 17 and 18, give the clearest portrait of the Expected Messiah. Elsewhere in these Psalms, the piety of the Pharisees, the 'righteous', in contrast to the spirit of the wealthy, ruling 'sinners', - the Sadducees - , in the time of Pompey is in evidence.

But Psalm 17 is most important:

17:1 - "O Yahweh, Thou Thyself art our King henceforth". The Lord is reminded of his promise to David, how Yahweh swore to him touching his seed that never should his Kingdom fail before the Lord" 17:5.

With this promise at the forefront of the psalm the prayer is that the Lord will 'Raise up unto them their King, the son of David". 17:23. "Yea, a righteous King, and taught of God, is He over them". 17:35. The Lord is to "gird him with strength", so

12/ (The point in this Jewish scholarly article is that not until after 70 A.D. did the term Messiah refer to any but the High Priest.)

that Pompey and other 'unrighteous rulers' he may shatter. He is to "purge" Jerusalem from such foreign oppressors. Proud sinners and godless nations are to be rebuked. A holy people he will gather together, in whose midst will be no wickedness. This returned Israel will be placed by tribe in the land and the heathen nations will be in service to him and no foreigner will reside in the land. 17:28. He will make Jerusalem holy as of old. Their King will be the "anointed of the Lord".

17:36 — πάντες ἅγιοι, καὶ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν χριστὸς κύριος

17:51b — κύριος αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα

His trust is not in horse and rider and bow but in God, and his weapon will be the word of his mouth. The Messiah will be "pure from sin".

Beside the Messiah Yahweh is pictured as ever standing, the active 'saviour' 17:1, 17:46, 17:3. There seems to be some confusion for the Psalmist expects Yahweh Himself to be that King; this confusion may be intentional as refuge in troublous times. (B.C.60).

This picture of the Saviour-Messiah stands midway between the earlier Old Testament ideas of a King and the later heavenly type; there is no mention of any resurrection here yet the Messiah is no common man, but of great power and purity of life. His opponents are the known powers of the world, not demonic beings.

The salvation the Anointed will bring is such as a purified Palestine might produce, and is not a heavenly Jerusalem.

4. Apocalyptic Literature

(a) Daniel introduces into the Messiah-picture some features not in the Psalms of Solomon, namely, super-mundane persons, and Angels, Gabriel (8:17) and Michael the Guardian-angel of Israel are to fight against the 'prince' of Persia and Greece. The one "like unto a 'Son of Man'" of Daniel 7:13 'came with the clouds of heaven'.

(b) Enoch There are whole sections of the Enoch Apocalypse which are silent about the Messiah.

Enoch 1-36 has no Messiah.

Enoch 91-108 (except 105:2 "I and my Son") has no Messiah.

Enoch 37-71 The Parable-section (See below).

The Messiah emerges in Enoch 90 as "a white bull"; he is not an angelic figure but is one among equals, a human, and is assigned no function in salvation; he comes forth after the judgment. "Another" (an angel?) assists in the judgment in 90:20 "The Lord of the Sheep sat himself thereon and the Other took the sealed books and opened them." It is after this that the Messiah as a white bull emerges from the community of the good. As he comes forth after the judgment there is no active role for him. Who the "other" is assisting in judgment can not be determined.

The Parable-section 37-71

This section has most affinities with the N.T. for here the expression 'The Son of Man' occurs with greates t frequence.

The matter of the exact connotation to be given the words "The Son of Man" need not detain the discussion long. The points to be considered are - the date of the Parable-section of Enoch,[15] the meaning of the expression, whether messianic or not, and some accounting for the strange usage of the N.T. writers in putting the expression in the mouth of Jesus, with but one exception Acts 7:56 said of himself or of some one else As the Aramaic lacks the article the question is further complicated. The evidence seems to point to the use at rare times of the expression in the original Aramaic sense of 'Man'; eg., Mark 2:28. The investigation as to the exact content of the expression has not reached any very satisfactory unanimity: it may be that life will not yield to such exact definition as is implied. Minute examination of terms could not be expected in the ordinary synagogue-goer. As the study proceeds more and more it becomes evident that "in divers manners" did the devout Jew picture his salvation; for our purpose at this stage the expression "The Son of Man" in Enoch is assuredly an agent of Yahweh in salvation.

15/ Prof. E. D. Burton, Lexicographical Studies of N.T.Words page 45ff. "But the term "the Son of Man" has in itself nothing to do with messiahship" page 51. Dr. Burton seems to favor a later date for the Parable-section of Enoch and so the influence is N.T. upon Enoch; Charles et al in A.P.O.T. think the date is before the Christian era. Cf, Schmidt in Ency Bib.

In the Parable-section of Enoch (37-71) salvation is mediated by an eschatological Saviour, the Son of Man, the Elect One, who is also Judge.

The Son of Man is pre-existent; "Before the sun and the "signs were created, Before the stars of the heaven were made, "His name was named before the Lord of Spirits" 48:3.Cf 48:6.

This pre-existent Son of Man has been revealed to the elect "For from the beginning the Son of Man was hidden. And the Most High preserved Him in the presence of His might. And revealed him to the elect". 62:7. "The wisdom of the Lord of Spirits hath revealed him to the holy and righteous." 48:7.

The elect so illumined dwell upon the earth: "When the Righteous One shall appear before the eyes of the righteous .. light shall appear to the righteous and the elect who dwell on the earth" 38:2; yet the Elect One is thought of as in heaven: "A whirlwind carried me off from the earth .. and in that place mine eyes saw the Elect One of righteousness .. and his dwelling place under the wings of the Lord of Spirits." 39:6.cf 51:5bcd.

The Son of Man is the judge of all: he will be made manifest to all: "Where was great joy; .. Because the name of the Son of Man had been revealed unto them. 69:26. "The sum of judgment was given unto the Son of Man". 69:27.

He sits on God's throne and judges the angels, and kings and mighty ones. "They shall be terrified when they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory" 62:5. "And the Elect One shall in those days sit on my throne" 51:3.

Kings and mighty ones are judged: 62:9.

"The righteous and elect shall be saved on that day".62:13 These will abide with the Son of Man 62:14 So too 71:16, 17. "With him shall be their dwelling-places and with him their heritage".

The picture of the Son of Man here is that of God in judgment on the earth, preparing for his own, their reward.

Who is this Son of Man in Enoch? Not a man become such for he is pre-existent; it is true that in 71:14 Enoch is this Son of Man. Charles emends the text to read This is for the MSS evidence Thou art. In Enoch 60:10 the epithet 'Thou Son of Man' is applied to Enoch; (NOAH? See 60:1.).
The figure is not an angel but "like one of the holy angels" 46:1. Further he is not son of man by generation for he is represented as of God's creation 48:2f; 46:1f; 49:2; 62:7; Cf 4 Ezra 13:32; 13:26.

The 'Son of Man' has little real activity ascribed to him by the Enoch editor; his most significant work is to judge. Yet in Enoch 47 it is God Himself who judges; and the narrative proceeds: "I saw the Head of Days when He seated Himself upon the throne of His glory" (48:3). Unity of conception is impossible in such compilations as apocalypses. #

c) Jubilees: Kings shall come forth from Thee (Israel)" 32:18) but this is the only reference to a temporary Kingdom. From the blessing upon Judah (31:18) it would seem tom forecast a hope of salvation from the line of Judah. The author thinks of the Messianic Age as a gradual transformation. (Cf. Jubilees 1:29, 4:26; 5:12; 23:30; Isa 65:17; 66:22. t Levi 18.) "From 100 B.C. this view was supplanted by the belief in a violent and sudden revolution of things" ##.

d) Assumption of Moses does not advance the idea of Messiah.

e) 4 Ezra

As for the 'Elect One' being the "Son of Man" see Foakes-Jackson- Lake Beginnings of Christianity Vol 1 page 370 especially the note.

Charles, R.H., Apocrypha and Pseudepigraphy of the Old Testament Vol II page 13.

a) 4 Ezra The Ezra Apocalypse presents a number of Messiah passages apparently from very differing traditions which have not been assimilated to a unified Messiah conception. (See Charles A.P.O.T. by Box p 549). Whether the apocalypse is a compilation made by an editor from different sources, or a uniform composition going back to a single author is a question which does not vitally affect the statement of the Messiah-portrait presented by the book.

No Messiah - Following the Messianic Woes (4:56-5:13; 6:21-2) comes the End of the World (6:15-20, 25:4) and then the Messianic Age (6:25-28). In this Messianic Age there is no Messiah but 'men who have not tasted death from their birth' are the heralds of this glad day.

Davidic - Rome "O thou Eagle" (11:45) will disappear thanks to a lion "whom thou didst see roused from the wood and roaring and speaking to the Eagle and reproving him for his unrighteousness and all his deeds as thou hast heard; this is the Messiah whom the Most High hath kept to the end of the days, who shall spring from the seed of David ...".

Two mutually exclusive views are here expressed; the Messiah is - apparently pre-existent in heaven and the Messiah is of the 'seed of David'. The latter seems to be the dominant factor in this section, for the Messiah is assigned a very active role;- that of subduing the heathen nations, Rome first. This might be a Zealot's portrait.

A Torah-Loving Messiah
- In 4 Ezra 13:38 "Thou didst see a Man coming up from the heart of the Sea: this is He whom the Most High is keeping many ages and through whom he will deliver his creation; He, my Son, shall reprove the nations for their ungodliness ... and then he shall destroy them without labour by the Law ... The ten tribes took counsel among themselves that they would leave the multitude of the heathen and go forth into a land further distant, where the human race had never dwelt, there at least to keep their statutes which they had not kept in their own land."

A Pre-existent Heavenly Messiah

13:26 "He whom the Most High is keeping many ages and through whom he will deliver his creation."

14:9 "Thou shalt be taken up and thou shalt remain with my Son .. until the times be ended".

12:32 "The Messiah whom the Messiah hath kept unto the end of the days."

7:28 "For my Son, the Messiah shall be revealed."

Thus the Messiah is to be revealed, - suddenly? -

A Messiah who dies after 400 years reign.

7:28 The Messiah "shall rejoice the survivors 400 years. And it shall be that after these years my Son, the Messiah shall die."

Manifestly the death of the Messiah is not as a sacrifice or atonement but as a natural leaving of the stage of activity. In the judgment it is God alone who judges; there is no place for a Messiah: 6:6 - "Even then had I these things in mind; and through me alone and none other were they created; as also the End shall come through me alone and none other."

The possibility of Anti Christian polemic is ever present in 4 Ezra. The date Charles A.P.O.T.Vol II by Box assigns this apocalypse in the close of the 1st century A.D.

It is note-worthy that the questions raised by this bold thinker of 4 Ezra which go deepest do nôt get solution in the Messiah-idea, namely "Why does this nation not flourish?" "Have the deeds of Babylon been better than those of Zion"? 3:31. "Why is the race submerged in Sin?" "If the world was indeed created for our sakes why do we not enter into possession of our world?" 6:59. "Why will few be saved?" Here the Messiah provides only a temporary joy and the problems of sin and death and destruction are beyond the Messiah's range. In the Coming Age (7:30ff) the Messiah has nothing to do. "Der Messias lebt eben .. kein selbständiges Leben für sich; er lebt nur in seiner Aufgabe und verschwindet mit seiner Aufgabe".(Volz p 202.) Apparently the Messiah-idea was a treasured tradition which still carried some comfort but was not inclusive enough to be the panacea."Ausserdem

waren es zweierlei Fragen und Nöte, die dem Verfasser ans Herz griffen, und die zweierlei Lösungen erheischten: da stand die nationale Not des Volkes, ihre Lösung war der Messias und die altnationale Höffnung des messianischen Reiches; da stand die allgemeine Not menschlicher Sünde und menschlichen Uebels, ihre Lösung war die moderne Höffnung des zweiten Aeons. Und wir sehen deutlich, welche Not der Verfasser schwerer bedrückte: er erblickte in der altnationale Höffnung eine Eschatologie zweiten Ranges und setzt das messianische Reich zum Zwischenreich herab. Esra wagt sogar, was keiner aus-zusprechen gewagt hat, er lasst den Messias sterben, zum deutlichen Erweis das die Messiasidee für ihn die Lebenskraft verloren hat". (Volz p 31).

To this changed emphasis upon the Sapiential and Wisdom aspects of Judaism to the retirement of the Messiah-idea evident (in 4 Ezra) Christianity. (A Messiah-redemption) may have contributed materially.

~~e~~)

f-) Baruch II In the Baruch Apocalypse there are three Messiah-sections; 27-30; 36:40; and 53:74. Elsewhere the Law is glorified and the restoration of Jerusalem is effected without the aid of a Messiah. (e.g., 32:2-4).

In the first Messiah section after terrible tribulation on the earth, a glorious kingdom was to be established under the Messiah who afterwards was to return to heaven in glory. 29:3-

"And it shall come to pass when all is accomplished that was to come to pass in those parts, that the Messiah shall then begin to be revealed". The earth is the scene of this blessed kingdom "on each vine shall be a thousand branches and each branch shall produce a thousand clusters, etc."

The part the Messiah plays, is very passive; and after this time when manna shall begin falling the Messiah "shall remain to glory" Volz regards this as a Christian interpolation. Here the Messiah is merely a figure taken from some pious literature of redemption to enhance the picture of the Good time Coming.

In the second section (36-40) the Messiah is a warrior prince "My Messiah will convict Him of all impieties .. And afterwards he will put him to death, and protect the rest of my people". (40:2).

In the third section (55-74) the role of the Messiah is thus described: "After the signs have come ... and the time of my Messiah is come, he shall summon all the nations, and some of them he shall spare and some of them he shall slay". The follow s a picture of the bliss of the coming age (ch 75) but the Messiah is responsible for this only by implication.

g) <u>The Testament of the Twelve</u>

This has its own peculiar contribution to make to the composite Messiah-picture: that of a Priest*King Messiah. The Messiah is to come from Levi, not from Judah.

The Messianic passages are: t <u>Reuben</u> 6:7*12; t <u>Levi</u> 8:14;18; t <u>Judah</u> 24:1-5; 24:5-6; t <u>Dan</u> 5:10f; t <u>Joseph</u> 19:5-9.

T Levi 18 is the outstanding passage: "Then shall the Lord raise up a new Priest And to him all the words of the Lord shall be revealed".

His functions are described at length: the heavens will blaze forth his coming as of a king, "He shall shine forth as the sun on the earth" v 4.

Sin shall cease: "In his priesthood shall sin come to an end,
And the Lawless shall cease to do evil."
(v 9)

"He shall open the gates of paradise". (v 10).

The saints will eat of the tree of life and he will endow his devotees with miraculous power; his will be an eternal reign extending even to the Gentiles (9).

Other passages imply a priestly Messiah:

t Levi 8:14 "The second shall be in the priesthood. And the third shall be called by a new name because a king shall arise in Judah, and shall establish a new priesthood".

t Reuben (6:7-12) "To Levi God gave the sovereignty." ... Will be among you an eternal king" (This of John Hyrcanus probably and the line his high-priesthood is establishing will not die out.)

t Judah 24:1-3 "A man shall arise" ... and no sin shall be found in him" This "star ... from Jacob in peace" Charles understands to be a Messiah of the Levitical line.

t Dan 5:10f "There shall arise unto you from the tribe of ..... Levi, the salvation of the Lord".

t Levi 18 is a hymn inspired by the hopes which the high-priesthood of John Hyrcanus awakened. With his withdrawal from the Pharisaic party, the hopes of a Messiah of the Levitical Line seem to have vanished, and even in the Testament of the Twelve, a return to the older hope of one of Judah's line.

t Judah 24:5-6 "From your root shall arise a stem".

t Joseph 19:8-11 "Honour Levi and Judah for from them shall arise .. one who saveth Israel".

In the Testament of the Twelve, there are several manifestly Christian interpolations which speak of a Messiah as of lowly origin; e.g., t Benj 10:7.

This survey of literature credited to the Palestinian Jews reveals the following features in the growth of the Messianic idea:-

(1) The Messiah category is altogether lacking in much of this literature; other Saviour-figures are drawn, - as prophet, or angel, - or God Himself is the Bringer of Salvation. The books of the O.T.Apocrypha except 4 Ezra do not mention the Messiah at all. This failure on the part of some of the literature to bear evidence to the prevalence of the Messiah-form of salvation Volz attributes in the main to the occasional character of the writings: "Wir haben den Grund dieses Fehlen meist aus dem jeweiligen Character der betreffenden Schrift abzuleiten". page 211. Rather is the occasion of this omission in some of this Palestinian literature to be found in the fact salvation was conceived as mediated by a Messiah by only a limited group; others pictured Yahweh's salvation as coming in other ways.

(11) The Palestinian Literature which does set forth the Messiah as Yahweh's salvation-bringer, does not contain a definitive or unified portrait; it is rather a complex of religious hopes. The developement of these conceptions cannot be traced with certainty owing to the inability to date the literature with precision; moreover it seems highly probable that differing even conflicting, ideas were entertained at the same time by differnnt groups. The religious leaders among the Jews threw out many lines and the Messiah-Portrait took to itself many helpful ideas when that portrait narrowed to an evaluation of Jesus.

It will be an aid to clearness to attempt to unravel the various strands:

Davidic -a) Basal is the idea of a king of David's line a human being who would sit upon the throne of David and make of his people a mighty nation among the nations of the world. This was the popular and rabbinic notion and has as its source the Old Testament. I Macc - and Ps Sol.17 Cf Prof.Margolioth in Expositor January 1923 for references to Messiah.

with sinless - b) To this King of David's life there was added the characteristic of sinlessness. (Ps of Solomon 17:5; elsewhere sinlessness is postulated of the Messiah but that is of a transcendental Being.) See Charles A.P.O.T.Ps Sol 17 where two streams gather.

Prince of Peace - c) An earthly Messiah who will show himself the Prince of Peace when all the earth will yield enormous returns. (Baruch 29; 74 and 4 Ezra 7:28).

Priest - d) A Priest-king with some superhuman qualities and powers added to this earthly Messiah.(Levi 18 etc)Jubilees.

Transcendent - e) The transcendent King, Son of David, "The Messiah whom the Lord hath kept unto the end of the days who shall spring from the seed of David".4 Ezra 12.

World-wide - f) The transcendent Conquerer of the Heathen and World-ruler. 4 Ezra 13; Daniel 7.

Pre-existent - g) The heavenly pre-existent Messiah who from eternity has been with God in heaven and who will be revealed as Judge of all the world and of demons. Enoch 37-71.

The vast change from the earthyl ideal King as Messiah to a transcendent Being pre-existent and companioning with God Himself Volz ascribes to the general, universal, change which was

taking place in Eschatology, from the earthly to the transcendental sphere (page 212). With the widening world-view general after Alexander's work and the break-up of national particularism, two trends are perceptible; a universalising and an individualising; --The Psalm of Solomon 17 which is the clearest expression of the national Davidic hope of Messiah it is the twelve tribes who are to divide the land of Palestine among themselves, and the heathen nations are to be subject to them, and among them in this earthly paradise there will be 'neither sojourner nor alien'. Here the universalising and individualising forces operative in the world have made least impact, as yet. In Ezra on the other hand the Messiah is transcendental and for the world; national limitations are neglected and the individual soul comes to view; 'the personal responsibility of each individual soul is asserted with the utmost emphasis' (Charles A.P.O.T. on Ezra 7:102 p 590). Of for Gentile repentance I Enoch 50:2-4; 90:30; II Baruch 72:

To this liberal Judaism there developed a harsher view I Enoch 57:70; Ass Mos x; 4 Ezra 13:37, 38, 49.

1/ "In their forecasts of the final events no two of the extant writings are consistent with each other and no one writing for that part, is consistent with itself". E.F.Scott, in Journal of Biblical Literature Vol XLI 1922 page 143.

II The PORTRAIT these MESSIAH-PASSAGES Present

It remains to assemble the various traits of the Messiah which these passages give in order to see what composite portrait this literature offered to the ordinary synagogue-goer at the beginning of the Christian era.

a) a) **The NAME**

As noted in the earlier section salvation was conceived as mediated by other than a Messiah (see section I p 505). One of the disappointing features of this inter-testament literature on first reading is the discovery that the Messiah-concept had not crystalised into definite or consistent portrait of the expected Salvation-Bringer.[1] Even the name was not so definitely fixed as to exclude other epithets. Titles which had been applied to those who in the past crises had brought rescue were used in reference to the hoped-for Saviour in the then-impending crisis.

1/ "In their forecasts of the final events no two of the extant writings are consistent with each other and no one writing for that part, is consistent with itself". E.F.Scott, in Journal of Biblical Literature Vol XLI 1922 page 139.

1. The title which has given the name to this entire cycle of Jewish expectation is of course 'Messiah' a transliteration of the Hebrew - מָשִׁיחַ -; this was transcribed in the Greek - Μεσσίας . And the meaning of the Hebrew - 'anointed' was likewise done into Greek Χριστός. These are not titles in their original use. Sometimes the word was used with the article and sometimes without.(Bar 29:3: 30:1; Ezr 12:32). In these passages the word is used without any qualifying phrase or adjective. That would seem to mean that the word has come to be an accepted title.

But not always was it such: the term was applied in the Old Testament to the priest (Lev 4: 3,5,16); and to the King Cyrus (Isa 45:1) as well as to the King of Israel (I Sam 2:10 35: 12:5: Ps 18:51: Lam 4:20: Hab 3:13). Evidently it is here used only in its descriptive quality.[3]

In the passages above from Baruch and Ezra, it has acquired a technical sense. In other passages in this literature the word may be seen in transition: e.g., Ps Sol 18:5, 7, "his anointed" is G. B. Gray's translation, not his "Messiah".

3/ C.f., a Modern Jew's statement re the word "Messiah": "From a simple title for any of the kings of Israel, it grew in meaning until it comprised the highest hopes of the nation". Kohler, Dr.K. in Jewish Theology, President Hebrew Union College, Macmillan 1918 xiii and 505 p.

Other names that are used of this Salvation-Bringer are:

2. "My Son, the Anointed" 4Ezr 7:28f or merely "My Son" as in Ezra 13:32, 37, 52; 14:9.

"My Servant, the Messiah" Bar 70:9.

3. "David's Son Ps Sol 17:21(Cf. The Seed from Judah, t Juda 24)

4. The King Messiah is the term found in rabbinic literature; The "King of Israel" Ps Sol 17:42, 21, Sibyll V 108; 111 652.

5. "The Judge". Enoch 38:2

"The Elect One" Enoch 40:5: 49:24; 51:3,5: 52:6,9; 61:5, 8, 10: 62:1.

"Mine Elect One" Enoch 45:3.

"A Blessed Man" Sibyll V 414

"A Holy Prince" Sibyll 111:49

The word "Comforter" was later applied to the Messiah as in John's Gospel. (See Bousset, Religion etc.2nd Aufl p 261.)

6. The Son of Man In the Parable section (37-71) the Son of Man is Yahweh's pre-existent agent, ready to come and go as God summons; but there is nothing of a humiliation in that service done for Yahweh by Enoch's Son of Man. The rise of the title is from Daniel's use of the expression to designate Israel.

The variety of names by which this Salvation-Bringer of Yahweh's was designated before the Christian era is in striking contrast to the uniformity with which the title Χριστός was later applied to Jesus by the Christian Church.

2. The ORIGIN OF THE MESSIAH

a) As of normal human origin

The examples in Josephus of those who set themselves up to be the saviours of their people in the distressing times under Roman domination (See next section) bear evidence to the conception that the Messiah would be of earthly origin; to this is to be added the example of one who did actually so set himself up as a Messiah, - namely Bar Cochba. Then the ascription of Messiahship to Jesus is evidence that this concept must have been current. (Cf.also Justin's Jew who states the expectation that the Messiah will be "a man born from among men" Dialog 49).

This seems to have been the original hope before the Apocalypticists re-touched the portrait, a hope that crops up even in the Apocalypses. (As Ezra 12:32).
--- As such he will be of the line of Judah :

t Jud 24 "A man shall arise from my seed".

(Charles regards these last words as a Christian interpolation). --- He is called 'David's son', - who will arise of the seed of David Esr 12:32.

--- He is of the seed of Abraham (a Priest-King - and Jubilees - see Lake Vol 1 p 365.
t Levi 8 Gk and Armen Tx
t Levi 18 Gk text
--- He is "born" according to Enoch 90:

b) A Heavenly Being

The Apocalyptists conceive the Messiah as a 'man' but of heavenly origin.

Pre-existent in Ezra and Parables of Enoch.

--- Dan 7:13 the Son of Man has transcendent features.

--- Ezra 13 the Messiah is called a 'man' but he dwells as a pre-existent being in Heaven Esr 13:26, 52. He will come on the clouds (Esr and Dan).

Esr 14:9 "Thou (Ezra) shalt remain with my Son."
" 7:28
" 12:32

--- In Enoch he is a "Man" but a 'heavenly figure: from eternity he dwells in Heaven. 39:6: 40:5:with the Elect.

His name is before all the stars, the Sun, and animals, Enoch 48:3. Cf 46:1.

He was chosen and 'hidden' before the foundations of the world: Enoch 48:6: 62:7.

Enoch 39:7 His judgment does not end.

" 70:1 (Quote) "And it came to pass after this that his name during his life-time was raised aloft to that Son of Man and to the Lord of Spirits from amongst those who dwell on the earth." Cf.48:2 48:3 48:6 48:1-2 49:2 62:7.

Because of this conception of the pre-existente of the Messiah there is nothing said about his birth: he is merely made manifest Esr 7:28,13:51 Enoch 48:7 who from eternity has existed. It is of significance that in the LXX Ps 110:3 the question of the origin bothers the Extra-Palestinian translator: he is begotten "from a womb before the Morning Star". --

Cf Enoch 46:1 and LXX Isa 9:6.

c) Between these two conceptions, - the earthly and the super-mundane, pre-existent origin of the Messiah is the representation of the Messiah as a returning figure of earlier history, as Moses or Elijah or David or Hezekiah. Ezra 12:32 reads: "The Messiah whom the Most High hath kept unto the end of the days, - who shall spring from the seed of David".

32

32/ Charles at this point in his commentary remarks "Probably the (latter) clause is due to R and is a harmonizing interpolation". A. P. O. T. p 614.
The Latin text omits the latter clause.

d) Where the Messiah is spoken of as pre-existent as in Ezra and the Parable section of Enoch, he is represented as "hidden", inactive until the time of his revealing. Enoch 62:7:48:6. He is concealed either in Heaven - as in Enoch 62:7: 40:5: 48:6 - or in the Sea as in Esra 13:3: 13:52. Cf Sibyll V: 414. He is not visible to any of this world's dwellers (Esr 13:51) save to his chosen ones only: Esr 12:32: 13:26; Enoch 62:7. (333)

(333) "Wie also im Leben Jesu unterscheiden werden muss zwischen einem Zustand der herrlichen Parusie Mark 9:1 (Rom 1:4) so steht auch in der Jüdischen Messiahlehre der Zustand des Messias ohne dunamis vor seinem Hervortreten neben dem Zustand in dunamis durch und nach seinem Hervortreten". Volz p 219.

5. The ENTRANCE of the MESSIAH

The Messiah, hidden from all but the few elect(Enoch 62:7), will be openly revealed at the end of the age . God it is who has chosen the time for the revelation, a time which God alone knows Ps Sol 17:21.(Cf.Mk 13:32).

There will be certain signs: Bar 72:2 - "After the signs have come, of which thou was told before, when the nations became turbulent and the time of my Messiah is come, he shall summon all nations, etc."

This 'time' is variously spoken of as an "hour" (Enoch 48:2.) or a "day" (Esr 13:32) or a "day of the Elect"(Enoch 61:5), or "that day" (Enoch 61:11, 62:3, 45:3) or the "day of choice" (Ps 18:6).

Then his name will be 'named' (Enoch 48:2). 'in the presence of the Lord of Spirits'. "The Elect One shall appear before the face of the Lord of Spirits (Enoch 52:9). Seen from the earth He will come as with the clouds of Heaven (Dan 7:13).

It is because the Messiah has his task upon this earth that his name will be revealed to men: Enoch 69:26 "And there was great joy ---- because the name of that Son of Man had been revealed". (Cf.Rev 2:17: 3:12; Enoch 48:7; 62:7.

Sometimes the representation is that the Messiah will "rise": Enoch 51:5a: 49:2; t Juda 24; t Jos 19: (Cf LXX Num 24:7 Ps Sol 17:21 and Philo de pr et p 16).

At other times the representation is that "He appears" Enoch 69:29: "God summons him" t Levi 18:2-15: He becomes "visible" Bar 29:3: Esr 7:28: Esr 13:52. "He comes" Sibyll III:49: V:414. He comes not as a child but revealed as before he has been hidden.

He is recognised (Enoch 62:1: Cf.Justin Dial Ch 8(where the Messiah is recognized by the anointing at Elias' hands.

4. The EVENTS in the CLOSING DRAMA

a) The Messiah comes unheralded. In Ezra 13 'Lo! This Man flew with the clouds of heaven' ... 'The earth rejoices that the Son of Man has revealed himself'. (Enoch 51:5) So do 'the select few' to whom the Messiah's name has been disclosed (Enoch 69:26)

b) But there are to be signs which presage his coming: Bar 72:1 'After the signs have come of which thou wast told before when the nations became turbulent .. etc ... the time of my Messiah is come'.

Cf. IV Ezra 6:11ff.

c) The messiah will come to restore to Israel what had been taken from her. Sib V:414: 'He has restored to all the good the wealth the former men took'. Then wars will cease, - even among animals (Philo depr et p 16) Sibyll III:652 - 'Who shall give every land relief from the bane of war'. Cf Ezra 13 and Sibyll V:108 - 'A King shall destroy all the mighty men and best of men'.

d) The Messiah will enter then into judgement: Enoch 45:5 'to transform the heaven ---- and the earth to make it a blessing'.

Cf. Enoch 61, 62, 51:2ff.

e) The Messiah comes after the ten Plagues which are to call the Diaspora - Apc Abr 31.

f) After the Woes of 'the last bad time' 'The Messiah will then begin to be revealed from his place and Leviathan Bar 29: etc., Then will follow the happiness of the Messianic age.

Baruch thus pictures the happiness of that Messianic Age:

Bar 29 "The earth also shall yield its fruit ten thousand fold and on each vine there shall be a thousand branches and each branch shall produce a thousand clusters and each cluster produce a thousand grapes and each grape produce a cor of wine (120 gal)."

g) On the great judgment day after the disappearance of the last heathen world power, Rome, the Messiah will appear as the vice-genent of God.

Dan 7:13 Siby III 46ff "When Rome shall rule over Egypt as well as she still hesitates to do —— then a holy prince shall come to bring ruin to Rome. For come it will whenever the odour of brimstone pervades mankind".

h) After the Judgment will come the return of the Diaspora to the building of the new Jerusalem, even the conversion of the surviving Gentiles. Enoch 90:28-42.

i) Previously Israel will have been chastened: t Juda "There shall be continual wars in Israel and after these things shall a star arise to you from Jacobb in Peace."

i) The coming of the Messiah will mark then the close of the present age Esr 12, 13:37f 2Bar 39:7 40:1, 72.

j) The Messiah begins then his 400 years reign. Esra 7.

V The Business of the MESSIAH, Judgment and Salvation

A-Judgment

a) The Messiah is called a ruler: he is King Messiah, Ps Sol 17:42, 21, 36.
He has a sovereignty Bar 39:7 "The principate of my Messiah"
He has a dominion Enoch 52:4 "The dominion of His Anointed"
In the Priestly passage he has a priestly robe and in Sibyll iii:49 he has a sceptre.
The Messiah will sit on God's throne Enoch 51:3 or on the throne of happiness 45:3; 49:1 with power and happiness 49:2 and what he says is done Enoch 69:29.

b) The Messiah destroys the enemies of Israel, kingdoms and sinners and demonic powers. The Ps Sol, Ezra, Baruch represent the Messianic victory as through war: in the Parable section of Enoch the victory is through judgment. But in all the salvation which is thus brought by the Messiah is thought of as for the nation.

The 'national' foes are to be destroyed; Bar 72: "The time of my Messiah is come, he shall summon all the nations and some of them he shall spare, and some of them he shall slay. Every nation which knows not Israel shall be indeed spared as though the annihilation which the Messiah will effect is upon such nations as have ill-treated Israel.(But in I Enoch 5:7ff Ass Mos x and Ezra 13:37,38,49 the Gentiles are to be destroyed).

Bar 70:9 "A King who shall give every land relief from the bane of war." Cf 4Ezra 12:32 Bar 70:9 Sib III 655f V:108. Sibyll V 418f. "He destroyed every city from its foundations

with sheets of fire". Cf The Messiah in Paul - "in fire" p 144 §32 below; Ps Sol 17:22 "That he (the Messiah) may shatter unrighteous rulers and that he may purge Jerusalem from nations that trample her down". "He shall thrust out sinners --- shall destry the godless nations". Cf Ezra 11f Bar 36f Esr 13. The 'eagle', - Rome - has spread his wings over the whole earth". "Thou shalt disappear, O thou eagle".

Bar 39:1 "This kingdom will be destroyed which once destroyed Zion", - "by my Messiah".

t Joseph 19 The "Lamb" overcomes the "beasts".

In the Parable Section of Enoch the opponents of the Son of Man are Kings, Mighty Ones who inhabit the earth. Enoch 46 and 51-53 the victory is a warlike one; in Enoch 55 and 56 and 62f the victory is through judgment. Thus is it evident that the salvation which the warlike Messiah brings is the salvation which is for the nation.

Before the Messiah destroys any he exercises a judgment upon each, setting forth those sins on account of which each is worthy of death.

Bar 40:1 "My Messiah will convict him (the last leader - Pompey?) - of all his impieties ... afterwards he will put him to death".

Esr 11:37ff "Hear, thou Eagle, I will talk with thee; ---- therefore shalt thou disappear, O thou Eagle."

Esr 12:33 "When he hath rebuked them he shall destroy them".

Esr 13:37ff "But he, my Son, shall reprove the nations -- and then he shall destroy them".

Ps Sol 17:25 "At his rebuke nations shall flee before him".
Thus the ethical character of the old Jewish religion is part and parcel of the apocalyptist's devotion to Yahweh: 'right will triumph' was the conviction of these men."#

The destruction of the enemies of Israel is performed miraculously: Esr 13:9 "And lo! when he (The Man) saw the assault of the multitude as they came he neither lifted his hand nor held spear nor any warlike weapon: but I saw only how he sent out of his mouth as it were a fiery stream, and out of his lips a flaming breath, and out of his tongue he shot forth a storm of sparks ---- And these were all mingled together ---- and fell upon the assault of the multitude which was prepared to fight and burned them all up".
Cf. also Ezra 13:27ff.
Ezra 13:38 "Then shall he destroy them without labour by the Law - which is compared to fire".
Cf Philo de p et p 16 MII423 and Ps Sol 17:24f;17:42;17:35
18:8 Enoch 62 2 "The word of his mouth slays all the sinners"
t Levi 18, Enoch 49 1-4

Cf Burkitt, F.C. in Gospel History and its Transmission page 366.

c) The Parable section of Enoch represents the Son of Man as a judge, a world-judge, even as God himself.

45:3: "Mine Elect One shall sit upon the throne of glory".

69:27: "He sat on the throne of his glory And the sum of judgment was given unto the Son of Man".

62:3: "All the Elect shall stand before him on that (judgment) day".

Cf also 55:4 61:9 49:4 "He shall judge the secret things".

In this section all sinners especially Kings, angels, and Satan.

65:2 "The word of his mouth slays all the sinners". Cf 69:27

62:3 "Kings and the mighty --- recognize righteousness is judged before him".

63:11 "Shame drives them from him".

He also judges the righteous but they suffer no such humiliation. See Enoch 61.

But those "who have led the world astray" - FallenAngels?- are destroyed in his judgment. Even Asasel he judges and all his associates. Enoch 55:4

d) The purpose of the military activity of the Messiah is that war may end.

Sibyll III 652ff "God shall send a King who shall give every land relief from the bane of war".

Enoch 52:8f "All these things (i.e., iron, copper, tin lead for war) shall be denied and destroyed from the surface of the earth when the Elect One shall appear".

Cf Sibyll V 431 (Extra-Palestinian)

e) Moreover all sin shall cease with the completion of his work:

Sibyll V 429 'For no longer are mortals beset with deeds of shame, adulteries and un-natural passion for boys, murder and tumult. (Extra - Palestinian)

Enoch 69:29 - Henceforth there shall ne nothing corruptible for that the Son of Man has appeared."

Cf Enoch 55:4 and t Levi 18.

V (Cont'd) The BUSINESS of the MESSIAH-Judgment and Salvation.

SALVATION.

a) The Messiah is God's Agent in salvation for Israel and the elect pious ones.

Enoch 48:7 "In his name are they (the holy and righteous) saved".

Enoch 46:3 "The Son of Man revealeth all the treasures".

Ezr 12:34 "He shall make them joyful".

He guards Jerusalem against attack of him(Sibyll V 107) "who shall come fain even to attack the city of the blessed".

Bar 40:2 The Messiah "will protect the rest of my people".

So too Ezr 13:49.

In Enoch 61:5 the Elect, - resurrected - are guarded by the Messiah for they have hated this world.

He will strengthen the souls of those who have called upon him. "He shall be a staff to the righteous, the light to the Gentiles, the hope of those troubled in heart" Enoch 48:4. Cf. Enoch 45:3.

Enoch 53:7 "The righteous shall have rest from the oppression of sinners" who have hindered their meeting.

Ps Sol 17:22 The Messiah will purge "Jerusalem from nations which trample her down".

In Ps Sol 17:23 He apportions to each tribe its lot in Jerusalem.

b) For the "Remnant" rescued by the Messiah a new order is provided. Ezra 13:26. The Messiah gives them joy Ezr 7:28 and they shall behold many marvels: "They shall behold marvels

every day" Bar 29:6: again "Then shall he show them very many wonders" Esr 13:50. Peace will be their lot: Ps Sol 17:35 t Levi "Peace in all the earth"; and t Juda 24.
This new order comes by more guardedly hedging in the chosen who are the redeemed. They will not be harrassed by those who do wickedness since these shall have been cast aside. Ps Sol 17:30 "Nor shall there dwell with them any man that knoweth wickedness". "The unrighteous shall disappear as a shadow" Enoch 49:2. "He will bless the people with wisdom and gladness" Ps Sol 17:40. Cf Ps Sol 18:8 t Juda 24.

The Messiah community will be a community of saints Enoch 39 verse 6. Ps Sol 17:32. That will be 'a good generation (living) in the fear of God in the days of mercy' Ps Sol 18:10. To them in Enoch 51:3 "his mouth shall pour forth all the secrets of wisdom and counsel".

Moreover all nature rejoices t Levi 18, t Jos 19.

"If then the Messiah is the Saviour from sin and need - what is the difference between the Jewish and the Christian representation?" Volz asks: and his answer is that the Jewish Messiah had become a purely eschatalogical figure, unconcerned with the present. "Der ganze grosse Unterschied,-"dass der jüdische Christus eine bloss eschatalogische Figur ist". Am Ende der jetzigen Zeit wird er die Schöpfung von jenen eingedrungenen Feinden des Menschengeschlechtes, vom Bosen und vom Uebel erlösen, und in neuen Reich will er dafür sorgen, dass dieselben nichts auf neue das Haupt erheben. Aber dem suchenden, seufzenden, ringenden Gemüt in der Gegenwart bietet er nichts, oder im besten Fall nur eine Aussicht auf kunftige

Hilfe fur die tiefen innerlichen Probleme, wie sie der einzelne Fromme im Augenblick in seinem Innern findet, ist von ihm keine Antwort zu holen. Hierin besteht durchaus kein Unterschied zwischen dem nationalen und dem transcendenten Messias: obwohl der Apocalyptiker die Idee des himmlischen Wundermenschen kennt, bleibt er doch in der Not seiner Seele gefangen (Esra)." p 231.

The CHARACTER of the MESSIAH

...anding and sanctifi-
...ation shall rest upon him". "He is mighty in the secrets of
...ighteousness". Enoch 49:3.

To this wisdom and justice is added Power. In Enoch 49:4:
and in 62:2 he is a "staff" to the righteous.
"In him dwells the spirit of wisdom and the spirit which gives
insight and the spirit of understanding and of might and the
spirit of those who have fallen asleep in righteousness".
Enoch 49 verse 4. In Psalms of Solomon "He will be mighty in
his works" (17:40). Cf. Enoch 90:37, Esra. 11:37; 12:32.

The source of his power is the fear of God: Ps Sol 17:40
"Strong in the fear of God". His trust is not in sword or
spear but he is "mighty through his hope in God" Ps Sol 17:34.
His is a countenance resplendent in glory. T Levi 18. "He
shall shine forth as the sun on the earth". Cf Enoch 40:1.
"Whenever he turned his countenance to look everything seen by
him trembled".

Relation of The MESSIAH to GOD

The two work harmoniously but the Messiah is always sub-
ordinate to Yahweh - as his agent.

There is almost no worship of the Messiah; that is to
Yahweh.

The CHARACTER of the MESSIAH

The Messiah is free from sin: Ps Sol 17:36:t Jud 24; t Levi 18.

He unites in himself the virtues of an ideal Knight and Prince whose highest virtue is righteousness. In Enoch he is called the Just one.(67:1) Cf.t Judah 24 "like the sun of righteousness". The spirit of righteousness and wisdom rests upon him. t Levi "The spirit of understanding and sanctification shall rest upon him". "He is mighty in the secrets of righteousness". Enoch 49:3.

To this wisdom and justice is added Power. In Enoch 46:4: and in 48:4 he is a "staff" to the righteous.
"In him dwells the spirit of wisdom and the spirit which gives insight and the spirit of understanding and of might and the spirit of those who have fallen asleep in righteousness". Enoch 49 verse 3. In Psalms of Solomon "He will be mighty in his works" (17:40). Cf. Enoch 90:37, Esra 11:37: 12:3L.

The source of his power is the fear of God: Ps Sol 17:40 "Strong in the fear of God". His trust is not in sword or spear but he is "mighty through his hope in God" Ps Sol 17:34. His is a countenance resplendent in glory. T Levi 18. "He shall shine forth as the sun on the earth". Cf Enoch 46:1. "Whenever he turned his countenance to look everything seen by him trembled".

Relation of The MESSIAH to GOD

The two work harmoniously but the Messiah is always subordinate to Yahweh - as his agent.

There is almost no worship of the Messiah: that is to Yahweh.

The PLACE of the Messiah's Activity in Salvation.

As the conception of the Messiah varies, - from an earthly Davidic personality to a transcendent pre-existent being, so the sphere of his activity varies.

1. ZION or JERUSALEM

Bar 40:1 "They will take him up to Mt. Zion and my Messiah will convict him."

Similarly Esr 7:28; 13: and Enoch 90.(So also Sib V:414f).

2. The EARTH

The sphere of the Messiah-activity in the Parable section of Enoch is wider than the Holy city as the interests of this section are wider than the Jews alone. So Enoch 52:4; 45:4f; Also t Levi 18.

3. HEAVEN

The Enoch Son of Man is also a heavenly figure.

Enoch 61:1

Enoch 48:6 The Son of Man is represented as before God "before the creation of the world forevermore".

4. PARADISE is the place in t Levi 18.

The LENGTH of the Messiah's reign.

Sometimes the length of the Messiah's regime is not stated as in Ps Sol 17: Enoch 90 and (Sibyll 414f) and Esra 13.

Where the idea does present itself the length of the Messianic era is differently conceived:

a) In the Pseudepigraphis literature there are only two representations, that of Esra 7:28, - 400 years or as expressed in Baruch 40:3 and Esra 12:34 'until this age passes away. The other representation is that the Messiah's reign is eternal. So Dan 7:14 Enoch 49:1; 62:14; 71:15 t Levi 18 t Jos 19. (Sibyll III 49f).

b) The Talmud

40 years
60 "
70 "
3 generations
354 years
400 "
1000 "
2000 "

(For references see Vol: p 336)

The DEATH of the Messiah

a) Only in Ezra 7 is the Messiah regarded as one who shall die. In Ezra 7 after the 400 years rule (from Ps 90:15 and Gen 15:13 ?) the Messiah together with all men dies in order that "the world (may) be turned into primeval silence seven days. Then what is corruptible will perish and a new earth will arise". In Ezra 6 the argument is that as God of himself created so will he of himself end that creation. The Messiah is to be revealed 'and those who are with him, who have never tasted death', - implying for the Messiah a pre-existence:; there seems some confusion here for with pre-existence implied the Messiah ought to return to that state which was his before his earthly career: but here he is got rid of in death. The Messiah does not function in that "new earth" which "will arise".

That this unique passage may be due to the influence of anti-Christian polemic is Charles suggestion: "The polemic is directed against views which were held by early Christians but which were probably not confined to Christian circles. At the same time it is possible that what the Apocalyptic writer has in mind here is the Christian doctrine of the return of Christ in glory to judge the world".(A.P.O.T. vol ii P 574).

The death of the Messiah seems to have been a circumstance in the career of the Messiah which stood in need of apology: (I Cor 1:21) but that which was a disadvantage the dialectic skill of Paul has turned into an advantage.

Cf I Cor 15:23 and Justin Dial ch 89, 90.

b) A Suffering Messiah

Similarly there is nothing to show that the thought of this period had place for a Suffering Messiah. The experience of this in the actual life of Jesus first called forth that personal interpretation of the Servant Songs of Isaiah.(Cf. the representation of Peter's attitude in Mark at Caesarea-Philippi). Even so conservative a writer as Dr.C.Gore concedes this: "I say here nothing of the figure of the Servant of Jehovah, who redeems Israel by his life, in Isaiah 52,53, which seems to have taken no hold on the imagination of Israel before our Lord's time". #

"In der ganzen messianischen Litteratur des tannaitischen Zeitalters ist keine Spur vom 'leidenen Messias' zu finden"## Cf Dalmann Der leidende und der sterbende Messias and Lagrange Messianisme.

Belief in Christ page 19: later page 59f he seems to appropriate the Isaian passages to the Messiah.

Klausner, Joseph

This sketch of the Salvation which the Jews of Palestine expected from their Messiah before the time of Jesus is notable quite as much because of what there is that is lacking as for what is contains. A Messiah who lives on this earth, walks and talks to common folk is not here.(See Volz p 231). The functioning significance of a Messiah-Saviour who would pass through all the experiences of those who so need his aid, even through the experience of death, had as yet no place in Jewish thinking. Their salvation was national. Then the rising tide of individualism, thanks to the break-down of the insular national boundaries, had little or no part in the hopes of these seers: it is a later developement which places so much emphasis on mystical communion of the individual with the Saviour-God.

C H A P T E R III

MESSIANISM BEYOND PALESTINE

A) EXTRA-PALESTINIAN JEWS

B) GENTILES

A- Judaism Outside Palestine

MESSIANISM Beyond Palestine

Among

A) Extra-Palestinian JEWS

All the literature of Christian Messianism that has come down is from Christians of the Greco-Roman world; no Palestinian Christian literature has survived. Messianism has become Christian Messianism and that modification known as Hellenisation was already in progress when the earliest extant Christian literature was written. So before plunging into the hopes which Christians entertained with respect to Jesus as their Messiah it is necessary to sketch the Gentile quest of that adjustment with life which is salvation.

As soon as the earliest Christians left Judea and Galilee they stepped out from the quiet and shelter which an indigenous, ethnic faith, passionately particularistic, had brought into a busy, jostling world. In that world there were two groups who, each in its own way, contributed to the situation in which Christianity functioned: the Jews and the Gentiles. The two are placed here side by side, for during this century the influences which had made Extra-Palestinian Judaism distinguishable from Palestinian Judaism are of a piece with the forces which hellenized Messianism. Jews in a Gentile community did not express their religious aspirations quite as did their Palestinian fellow-kinsmen.

A- Judaism Outside Palestine

Days come and go, - as, doubtless in the ancient world, days came and went, - with benumbing sameness; but when they are gone some are seen to stand out with significance denied the common days by which they are surrounded. Such a day was the coming of Alexander.[1] His career marks the new age. The city-state, - the little nation, smugly complacent in its isolation, the treasured insularity of peoples, small and great, all yielded to Alexander's dream of world-empire. He set in motion forces that continued to operate long after his death; and when Macedonia bowed to Rome the breakdown of national barriers was only hastened. By the first century A.D. the Mediterranean World was one Empire. "Greek was spoken everywhere throughout Asia, and for the first time in the world's history the inhabitants of the civilised part of the earth had a common tongue in which they could communicate their ideas to each other ... One may wonder how much of the sayings and doings of the Founder of Christianity would have come down to us had they not been first recorded in the koinē or lingua franca of the whole East.[2] This unity made for intercommunication; it was a century of awakening; the world had taken to travel. Roman roads, - built to last, by slave labour, narrow yet direct, - for the rapid movement of troops, made travel by land to the centres easy and comparatively safe. The Sea, swept of pirates, drew the widely separated parts together, and routes multiplied as commerce developed. The young man of the Orient went West.[3]

1/ Legge, F. Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity vol i ch 1.
2/ Op cit p 8f
3/ Tucker Life in the Roman World of Nero and St. Paul. Ch 2 Macmillan 1910 XIX - p 453.

Among those who had joined in the westward trek were many Jews, and by the first century there were many more Jews outside of Palestine than within.

The number of Jews in Palestine and outside can be only roughly estimated. Harnack has gathered together all the extant references which serve to show the number and distribution of the Jews within the Empire.[4] Of the total five or six million Jews of his estimate, only one million were in Palestine.

4/ Mission and Expansion of Christianity 2 ed Vol I Chapter 1.

The usual known historical causes have been given to account for this phenomenon: Palestine had no colonial territory for her over-flow population: forcible deportations [5] would leave in the alien land many, especially of the second and later generations, even after the privilege of return to Zion had been granted [6] Commerce must have wooed many for "the Jew emigrates more readily since his creed is linked to a book, not to a place", [7] And the proposal that Jews have their own section in Alexander's new city was enticing.[8] All these considerations operated in drawing the

5/ E.g.,-The Babylonian Exile 397-586 B.C.
-Jews to Hyrcania by Ochus Syncellus i.486
Orosius iii 7
-30,000 Jews by Ptolemy I to garrison the frontier
Ps Aristeas ed Schmidt p 255
Antig xii 1.
-Ptolemy compelled Jews to settle in Cyrenaica
Contra Apion ii 4
-By Antiochus the Gt 2,000 Jewish families to Phrygia and Lydia Antig xii 3:3.
-Tiberius sent 4,000 Jews of Rome to Sardinia
Tacitus Annales ii 85

6/ "The people who did return were chiefly the fanatics, the clergy, and the paupers". Cited in Legge, F.Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity vol i p 149.

7/ Jewish Encyclopaedia art Diaspora by T Reinach p 561 vol 4

8/ "In Alexandria the fact that the Jews with the express authorization of the Ptolemies called themselves 'Macedonians' and 'Alexandrians' (Contra ap ii 4; B.J.ii 18:7 Antiq xix 5 2) does not imply the possession of the right of citizenship(a right which in a city not having an elective assembly and council was of little advantage), but simply testifies to the equality of the Jews with the Greeks before the courts, the boards of taxation, etc., an equality formally confirmed by Caesar (Jos Contra Ap 1 c Antiq xiv 10 1) and then by Claudius(Antiq xix 5 2).

younger generations of Jews from Palestine and in retaining those with homes already outside. To these causes both Harnack and Schurer find it necessary to add another to account for the apparent large percentage of Jews to the total population: the natural increase must have been augmented by large additions of converts to the Jewish faith from among the Gentiles.[9]

9/ Harnack, A. Mission and Expansion of Christianity Vol I chapter i.
Schürer, E.H.D.B. Extra Volume Diaspora
Bentwich, N. Hellenism
Reinach, T. Jewish Encyclopaedia Vol 4 art Diaspora
In Mt 23:15, - written when the Christian Church was appropriating to itself the Jewish scriptures and when consequently the relations of the Jews and the Christians were not only friendly, the Pharisees are reputed to be compassing "Sea and land to make one proselyte". Legge, F.Forerunners etc. challenges the accuracy of these large additions to the Jewish faith but gives no evidence. Vol I p lv.

What did the Sons of Abraham who had left for the West to make a home in the busy world-mart outside or whose fathers before them had made the venture, think of the Messianic hope which had so cheered many of their kinsfolk of Palestine ? They were engaged in many of the meanest trades - "selling matches, and old clothes, and broken glass or begging and fortune telling".[10] These proud 'aliens' must have suffered much humiliation by reason of the reproaches they met in the Greco-Roman world: misunderstood, their aloofness intensified the misunderstanding. Fidelity to the religion of their fathers brought them to the notice of the scoffers. Punctiliously they observed the Mosaic law; "Thou shalt have no other gods --- " and stubbornly they refused to participate in the worship - even the festivities - of other cults.[10a] "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image" and they were thgught atheists for they worshipped, it was said, "naught but the clouds and the holy heavens above them"[11] "Remember the Sabbath day --" and in their new environment to their neighbors it seemed a day of idleness which in part accounted for the apparently impoverished state of the Jews.[12] Every seventh day is made a day of idleness, a day remote from

10/ Dean F.W.Farrar's words in 'Seneca and Paul' page 4. He has drawn the characterization from the satirists of the first century A.D.,- Juvenal xiv 96:106;iii 13-16; Martial Ep 12:57 13:Of Tacitus Hist v 4. See Friedländer, L., Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms p 6 617ff: Eng tr Roman Life and Manners Under the Early Empire vol iii p 183f.

11/ Juv xiv 96-106

12/ Juv iii 13-16 "Now adays the grove and shrine by the holy spring are let to the Jews, whose basket and wisp of hay make up the whole of their belongings. The law now requires every tree to pay rent to the public treasury, and so the native Muses have been evicted and the wood has become one mass of beggary". Of also Juv xiv

10a/ Cf "The funeral inscription of Ulpius Egnatius Faventinus, an augur of high rank who flourished in the reign of Valens and Valentinian, records that the dead nobleman was a priest of Isis, but a hierophant of Hecate, a hierocoryx of Mithras, and a chief 'Herdsman' of Bacchus as well. Sop again Fabia Aconia Paullina, wife of Vettius Praetextatus, a Prefect and Consul Designate of about the same period, describes herself on her tombstone as consecrated at Eleusis to Dionysus, Demeter, and Persephone, and a hierophantis of Hecate, but merely a worshipper of Isis".
Legge, F. Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity, vol i page 83: the note to the passage reads: Orelli, Inscrip.Latin. selec. p 406-412. All these have now been transferred to Corp. Inscr. Latin."

11/ Cf for this attitude of scorn on the part of the great Middle class of the first century - Juvenal iii, 1661; vi 548 (fortune-seekers) and Martial i 41 (match-seekers) and Martial xii 57.

A horse-dealer(?), a Jew, is mentioned in one of the Grenfell Papyri from Fayum.

The mechanical trades are named in Philo (In Flaccum); Weavers, tent-makers, dealers in purple, butchers, taverns keepers, singers, comedians etc., are also found. See Diaspora Jewish Encyclopaedia Vol 4.

all concern with life". (Juv sat xiv).

The Jews continued to observe all the ceremonial requirements, circumcision and the distinction between clean and unclean meats:- "eating of pork . . . is all one with cannibalism". (Juv xiv). So devoutly did they "obey every word that Moses taught in his mystic roll" that they seemed disloyal to the laws of Rome and to their non-Jewish neighbors they were unsocial, - never showing "the road to any but co-religionists and helping none but their brethren of the circumcision to find the spring they are in quest of".[15]

15/ Cf for this attitude of scorn on the part of the great Middle class of the first century - Juvenal iii, 10ff; vi 542 (fortune-tellers) and Martial i 41 (match-sellers) and Martial xii 57.

A horse-dealer(!), a Jew, is mentioned in one of the Grenfell Papyri from Fayum.

The mechanical trades are named in Philo (In Flaccum); Weavers, tent-makers, dealers in purple, butchers, tavern keepers, singers, comedians etc., are also found. See Diaspora Jewish Encyclopaedia Vol 4.

Despite this unfriendly attitude on the part of the middle classes of the Empire, the government of the Empire showed the Jews no little measure of protection:[14] indeed it may be that the very privileges accorded the Jews were in part responsible for this attitude.

14/ During the entire duration of the Roman Empire the Jewish religion was a religio licita, and exceptionally privileged: Julius Caesar made an exception of the Jews who wished to settle in Rome (Antiq xiv 10 8). The expulsion of Jews from Rome under Tiberius was not long enforced. Under Claudius the Jews were forbidden to congregate in Rome (Dio Cassius lx 6; Acts 18:2: Suetonius 'Claudius' 25: Orosius vii 6 15). Under Caligula the Jews of Alexandria were in danger of being required to do emperor-worship. But the right of residence, the right to erect synagogues, to own cemeteries, the free exercise of cult customs (Hadrian forbade the practice of circumcision, one of the causes of the revolt of 132 A.D., but this restriction under Antoninus Pius was made to cover only Gentiles:); the right to create an autonomous religious organization in every Jewish community; the right to levy special taxes upon the members of their own group (E.g., the Temple tax of half-shekel which until the destruction of Jerusalem was sent to Jerusalem - - but see Cicero Pro Flacco 28-: and Antiq xviii 9 1); some measure of autonomy in the matter of settling legal disputes was allowed: and many considerations in respect to the military service: these surely show that the Jews were treated with a measure of consideration by the governing class.
Yet the Jews were deprived of the honors as well as many of the rights which came to the citizens of the cities of Greece and Rome. The Jews were 'peregrini'. See Jewish Ency Diaspora.

There are marks which show that the Jew was more at home in his new environment than the picture which the Roman satirists of the First Century draw would lead one to think. The Jews beyond Palestine, as within, were of two main classes the liberal [15] - open to hellenistic influences - and the conservative - insistent upon the maintenance of particularistic Judaism, the whole Jewish population outside was more touched by the influences around than the Palestinian group.[16] Evidences of the absorption of that freer hellenistic spirit are not wanting.

i - They learned the Greek language. By the middle of the third century B.C. in Egypt so common had the use of the Greek become among the synagogue-goers that the Hebrew scriptures were done into Greek. When one recalls the tenacity with which the Scriptures <u>in Hebrew</u> are treasured still by the Jews the Septuagint Version must have meant a tremendous expansion in the idea of religion and of God. Even today in the Synagogue the Scriptures are read in Hebrew.[17]

15/ Contrast the attitude of II Maccabees and III Maccabees, - unfriendly to hellenistic innovations, with Aristeas, Josephus Philo and the Wisdom of Solomon.

16/ Bentwich, N. in "Hellenism" p 135 cites from monument records to show that the cruder(!) Hellenism, the religious cults, affected a section of Jewry. One Jew contributes to Dionysius, another to Apollo for benefits received.

17/ The tradition is that Abram, while still in Ur of the Chaldees had been taught Hebrew, "the language which had been revealed,.. the tongue of creation". Jubilees 12:26. "The holy language, the Hebrew language, remained only in the house of Shem and Eber, and in the house of Abraham, our Father, who is one of their descendents."

Yet even in the 5th century before our era the Jews in the Assouan Colony - soldiers - transacted their business in Aramaic.

The significance of this doing into Greek of the Hebrew Bible for the point in hand is well set forth by M.Ménard: 'Les Grecs auraient pu classer Jéhovah comme les autres

16/Cont'd) With this love of the Hebrew tongue for the worship of Yahweh compare this from the Preface to The Complutensian Polyglot Bible of 1514-1522 written in praise of the language the Church then used and thought the language best fitted to worship God through:-

Me-
diam aut inter has latinã beati Hieronymi translationẽ ve lut inter Synagogam & Oriẽtalem Ecclesiam posuimus: tanq̃s duos hinc & inde latrones medium autẽ Jesum hoc est Romanam siue latinã Ecclesiam collocãtes.

ditions n'étaient pas les mêmes qu'en Palestine. Les [illegible] à [illegible] leur pays, ils n'aspiraient pas à la domination, ils 'se contentaient de l'hospitalité. Dès lors, il devenait plus 'facile de s' entendre: ils traduisirent leurs livres dans la langue de leurs hôtes, dont ils étudièrent la philosophie.' 13

13/ Hermes Trismegiste par Louis Ménard, Paris, Didier et Ce 1866 page xy.

The significance of this doing into Greek of the Hebrew Bible for the point in hand is well set forth by M.Ménard: "Les Grecs auraient pu classer Jéhovah comme les autres Dieux "dans leur panthéon mais lui ne voulait pas être classé: il "ne se serait même pas contenté de la première place, il voulait "être seul ... À Alexandrie, les conditions n'étaient pas les "mêmes qu'en Palestine. Les Égyptiens étaient chez eux, les "Grecs ne se croyaient étrangers nulle part, les Juifs "au contraire tenaient à rester étrangers partout: seulement, "hors de leur pays, ils n'aspiraient pas à la domination, ils "se contentaient de l'hospitalité. Dès lors, il devenait plus "facile de s'entendre: ils traduisirent leurs livres dans la langue de leurs hôtes, dont ils étudièrent la philosophie." [18]

18/ Hermes Trismegiste par Louis Ménard, Paris, Didier et Ce 1866 page xv.

ii - This translation has within it, even within the oldest sections, i.e., the Pentateuch, evidence of the impact of Hellenistic thought. The conception of Yahweh as with human attributes was no longer happy to the Greek. Mount Olympus was where the gods dwell. So the anthropomorphisms which occur in the Pentateuch in expressing the Hebrew conception of God are avoided in the translation. The tribal Yahweh, - dwelling in a tent in the midst of his people, - had even in Israel been elevated. This movement was accelerated by contact with Greek thought.[19] When Christianity in like manner moved out into a hellenistic environment a parallel developement, - a putting of God far away, even a pre-existence for Jesus, - is discernible. This aspect in the hellenization of Christianity gets its best expression at Nicea when the "same" ousia as God is postulated of the Saviour Jesus for certain are they that their salvation is from God.[20]

19/ Examples of the avoidance of the anthropomorphisms of the Hebrew are given by H.B.Swete: Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek, pages 326ff.
E.g., Gen 6:2 the Hebrew runs in English "The Sons of God": the Greek:- οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ

Exod 4:16 The Hebrew "Thou shalt be to him as God". the Greek:- σὺ δὲ αὐτῷ ἔσῃ τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν

Exod 24:10 The Hebrew "They saw the God of Israel". the Greek:- εἶδον τὸν τόπον οὗ εἱστήκει ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ

20/ For further traces of the influence of Greek life upon the LXX see Oesterley, W.O.E. Books of the Apocrypha p 71ff:
and Ottley, R.R. Handbook to the LXX, Methuen 1920 xv and 289 pages.

iii- The arrangement of the Apocryphal books within that canon has disturbed the order evident in the Hebrew canon. The Hebrew Bible still preserves the strata, Law, Prophets, and Writings. In the Greek Old Testament the Law alone is intact and into the Prophets and Writings the Extra-Palestinian Jewish Church has thrown the Apocryphal books, re-arranging the whole collection in "the characteristically Alexandrian desire to arrange the books according to their literary character or contents or authorship".[21] Thus the historical growth of the Jewish canon is concealed in the LXX and the Jewish doctrine of Scriptural inspiration as in Philo[22] is accentuated.

21/ Swete, H.B., Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek page .

The evidence that the Extra-Palestinian canon was larger than the Hebrew canon of Palestine is in Melito quoted in Eusebius H.E. iv:26 and in the Greek Old Testament MSS.

22/ Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres Sit: 53. "A trance, which proceeds from inspiration takes violent hold of us and madness seizes upon us, for when the divine light shines, the human light sets: ... for the mind that is in use is removed from its place at the arrival of the divine spirit, but is again restored to its previous habitation when the spirit departs" And it was said of Abraham -- for in real truth the prophet, even when he appears to be speaking, is silent, and another being is employing his vocal organs, his mouth and tongue, for the explanation of what things he chooses; and operating on these organs by some invisible and act he makes them utter a sweet and harmonious sound, full of every kind of melody". Yonge's tr.

iv - The translation of the Scriptures into the language of the day gave the Synagogue in the Greek towns and cities of the Hellenistic world a larger audience. Many adopted this 'very old' [23] religion and with it the race. [24] Others who found the service of the Synagogue inspiring and its ethical demands ennobling but who were unwilling to forego their own national affiliations formed a class, the "God-Fearers" [25] who shared in only a part of the blessings of the Jewish faith.

23/ Philo's claim was that the Jewish faith is older than the Greek culture, that the leaders of Greece are indebted to the prophets of Israel. Others stress the very ancient roots of Judaism and Christianity.
Cf. the position of Dean, W.R. Inge, in "The Philosophy of Plotinus" Longmans, Green and Co.London 1918, page 63:- "Other advantages which helped to give Christianity the victory were that the Christian Founder was a historical person who had lived comparatively recently" .....

24/ Through circumcision. See Article "Proslytes" Jewish Encyclopaedia".

25/ Case, S.J., The Evolution of Early Christianity p 174f.

v - A further mark in evidence that the Jews were in reality more at home in the Gentile environment than the despite shown them socially would lead one to think is the fact that in Egypt they erected the only Jewish sanctuary outside Jerusalem where sacrifices were offered, - at Leontopolis. This Extra-Palestinian Temple was closed two or three years after the destruction of Jerusalem as a precautionary measure by the Roman Government and the interior furnishings confiscated for the treasury of Vespasian. Its presence and the services for the three or more centuries prior to the destruction of Jerusalem proclaimed to all the determination of this people to take their place in the life of the nation. (See Josephus).

vi - The works of Josephus and Philo show a conscious effort on the part of orthodox Jews to present to the Gentile world the story of the Jewish people in its best light and to appropriate Greek culture and Greek modes of thought.

The Jews outside Palestine had to their credit a considerable body of literature other than the works of Josephus and Philo.

"Judging by the philosophy of Philo, Alexandria would not be the place where the Christian message was originally presented would be acceptable. Messianism, however conceived, would not appeal to those who delighted in allegorical interpretation and philosophical treatment of scripture; and possibly it was not till Christian piety began to see in Jesus the divine, pre-existent Logos that the new religion found a home there". The Editors in Foakes-Jackson-Lake, Beginnings of Christianity Part I Prolegomena Part I page 155

It seems evident that the Jew in the Roman world, though socially he was an outcast, was finding his place and in a very real sense he was responding to the hellenistic influences by which he was surrounded.[26] How did that Jew now think of Messianism ?

It is a fact to be borne in mind that most of the Jewish literature of Extra-Palestinian origin is thought to have come from Egypt.(Josephus is the only considerable exception; the LXX II Macc:Aristeas, Sibylline Books: III Macc: Wisdom of Solomon: IV Macc: Additions to the Canonical Books: Philo: Books of Adam and Eve: Tobit, all from Egypt). (II Enoch ?). In this Extra-Palestinian literature there is almost no Messianism: and not before 150 A.D. - when Christianity was beginning to slough off the original Messianic mould for the more philosophical Logos conception of the person of Jesus - are there any traces of Christianity in Egypt.(See Harnack,A. Mission and Expansion of Christianity. vol i).

26/ "When we speak of the Hellenizing of Judaism we mean more than the pervasive influence of the secular civilisation. There was a definite attempt made by the Jews to interpret their own religion in a form acceptable to the Greeks, from which cannot be separated an attempt to interpret Hellenism to themselves by stretching it upon a framework of Jewish orthodoxy. This latter design was rendered necessary by the rapid decay of faith in statutory Judaism among the educated, a decay which was exhibited both by the increasing inwardness and spirituality of the really religious, and by the increasing externality and hypocrisy of the cult among the official class. In the Diaspora, a liberal Judaism sprang up which was merely a cultured unitarianism with strong ethical convictions. The old dream of a Theocracy was forgotten, and Messianism aroused no interest".

Dean, W. R. Inge in
Hasting's Ency Rel and Eth
Art Alexandrian Theology.

In that Jewish world outside Palestine the conception of Messiah has found expression in the distinctively Extra-Palestinian literature, but Hellenism left its impress on that Jewish literature more distinctly elsewhere than in the Messianic passages: e.g., in the mysticism of Philo and of the wisdom of Solomon. Jewish Messianism in Extra-Palestinian literature does not reveal this: it remained for Christians later to appropriate to their Saviour-Messiah this as well as other equally characteristic expressions of the religious life.

Extra-Palestinian Messiah Passages

1. Sibylline Oracles

a) LLL:46ff "But when Rome shall rule over Egypt as well as she still hesitates to do, then the mightiest Kingdom of the immortal King over men shall appear. And a holy Prince shall come to wield the sceptre over all the world unto all ages of hurrying time."

(See Lanchester's note on this passage in Charles' A.P.O.T. Vol ii p 379)

b) III 652-56 'And then from the sunrise God shall send a King who shall give every land relief from the bane of war; some he shall slay, and to others he shall consecrate faithful vows. Nor shall he do all these things by his own will but in obedience to the good ordinances of the mighty God."
"And again the people of the mighty God shall be laden with excellent wealth, with gold and silver and purple adornment. The land shall bear her increase and the sea' Then shall follow peace.

These are all the Messiah passages of this Sibyll.

In the 781 and following verse of this third Sibyll it is the Prophets of Yahweh who "shall take away the sword". For they are the judges of mortal men and kings. Even "wealth shall be righteous among men" then. Ewald understands III 386f to be Messianic: "And then the God of heaven shall send a king and shall judge each man with blood and with flame of fire". Lanchester in Charles A.P.O.T. says the king is Cyrus.

The 4th Sibyll has nothing Messianic.

c) The 5th Sibyll

V:108-110 "And then a King sent from God against him shall destroy all the mighty kings and the best of the men. And so shall judgment come from the Immortal upon men. Here the activity of the Messiah parallels the activity of J[illegible]

v:414-427 "For there has come from the plains of heaven a blessed man with the sceptre in his hand which God has committed to his clasp. And he has won fair dominion over all and has restored to all the good the wealth the former men took. And he has destroyed every city from its foundations with sheets of fire and burnt up the families of men who before wrought evil, and the city which God loved he made more radiant than the stars and the sun and the moon. And he set it as the jewel of the world and made a temple, exceeding fair in its fair sanctuary, and fashioned it in size of many furlongs with a giant tower touching the very clouds and seen of all so that the faithful and all the righteous may see the glory of the invisible God, the vision of ddight."

See also V:452f where the same attributes are applied equally to the 'Messiah' and to God. (See Volz p 207).

V;256 is so very suggestive of the actual course of Jesus' life that it is looked upon as a Christian interpolation:

"Then shall there come from the sky a certain exalted man whose hands they nailed upon the fruitful tree, the noblest of the Hebrews, who shall one day cause the sun to stand still, when he cries with fair speech and with pure lips." (See Volz p 49).

2. The Wisdom of Solomon.

This work contains nothing with reference to the Messiah or to David's Kingdom: instead the pre-existent figure of Wisdom takes the centre.

3. Philo

It seems singular that this influential Jew has no significant references to the Messianic hope, but Philo's interest was absorbed in mediating to his country-men of Alexandria the Greek culture which had come to have so large a part in his life. The religious activities Philo found in Judaism, not in the Gentile religious practices excepting the religious philosophies, but two passages seem to give evidence that Philo shared in the Messianic hope of his country-men but the 'Messiah' concept is not the controlling factor. Philo's contribution is elsewhere.

i- In de Praemiis et Poenis (p 477 vol iii Yonge's Translation: 'A man will come forth, says the Word of God, leading a host and warring furiously, who will subdue great and populous nations, God sending that assistance which is suitable for pious men". (Drummond, J.does not regard this passage as Messianic, see Philo-Judaeus by Drummond p 321,2, vol ii: but Volz disagrees p 208.)

In Vita Mos I 52 M II 126 is a reference to 'a man going forth, ruling over many peoples'. Volz here thinks this in Philo has reference to David.

In place of the earthly form of a Kingly Ruler in Philo appears the heavenly figure of the Logos. That the Logos of Philo is identical with the Messiah of the hopes of his

Jewish kinsfolk seems unlikely. (See Volz p 208 and Drummond, J. Jewish Messiah p 271 f; 330, 347ff.)

What has happened is that the Messiah-concept crops up in Philo as a relic of his inherited faith, but this does not become for Philo any vital expression of his confidence in Yahweh's salvation.

4. The LXX

The LXX version gives evidence that in Extra-Palestinian Judaism interest in the Messianic expectation was not entirely lacking: i - in Numbers 24:7 (The Pentateuch) where the Hebrew (in English) runs "Water shall flow from his buckets and his (Israel's) seed shall be in many waters" the LXX is open to Messianic interpretation:

ii- Numbers 24:17ff: the Hebrew in English runs: "There shall come forth a star out of Jacob and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel": The LXX:-

iii- Genesis 49:10 "Unto him shall the obedience of the people be" of the Hebrew is rendered

iv- Psalm 110 calls the Future King the 'expectation of the nations', -

and postualtes a pre-existence -

But these are very small bits of evidence to set forth the fact that in the Extra-Palestinian world the Messianic expectation was not absent.

5) JOSEPHUS

The paucity of references to Messianism in Josephus - who tells at length of the Jewish War - presents a problem. When Josephus wrote Christianity, a Messianist movement, had reached Rome and the attention of the authorities. Yet Josephus has but two incidental references to this hope of the Jews, and these are Christian: viz.,- Antiq xviii 3 3 and xx 9 1. The former reference which contains the sentence "This Jesus is the Christ" is generally regarded as a Christian interpolation: the second about one "James, the brother of the so-called Christ" has more likelihood of being from Josephus. The 'Slavonic' version of the 'Jewish War'[27] is also regarded as an interpolation and not from Josephus. (But see Case, S.J. Historicity of Jesus p 356-364 where the literature is cited and the opposing view that this account of the deeds of Jesus is from Josephus is set forth). "That item in the Jewish fath ..... had been the source of so much trouble for the Roman authorities. For his part he would set the Roman mind at rest by identifying Vespasian with the promised Messiah". (Case, S.J., Historicity of Jesus). Of the confusion thrown into the portrait of a Davidic King in the Ps Sol 17 by the sentence 17:38 "The Lord Himself is his King" as if to quiet all suspicion on the part of the Roman authorities.)

27/ For the text in English see Beginnings of Christianity by Foakes-Jackson & Lake vol 1 Proleg 1 appendix C p 433.

There are several references to near-Messiahs in Josephus.

BAGOAS

Antiq xvii 45 Bagoas, a eunuch of Herod the Great, party to the plot by the Pharisees who would not swear allegiance to Caesar and on being fined had the fine paid by Pheroras' wife: So the King slew Bagoas, the eunuch; "And for Bagoas, he had been puffed up by them, as though he should be named the father and benefactor of him who, by the prediction, was foretold to be their appointed king; for that he was to have all things in his power and the king would enable him to marry and to have children of his own body begotten him."

JUDAS

Antiq xvii 269ff Cf B.ii 56

"Now at this time there were 10,000 other disorders in Judea! A judas appeared, son of Ezekias: he became terrible to all men by tearing and rending those that came near him: "All this in order to raise himself, and out of an ambitious desire of the royal dignity".

THEUDAS

Antiq xx 97 "A certain charlatan whose name was Theudas persuaded a great part of the people to take their effects with them, and follow him to the river Jordan; for he told them he was a prophet, and that he would by his own command divide the river and afford them an easy passage over it ... They (the men under Fadus, procurator of Judea) took Theudas alive and cut off his head".Cf Antiq xx 5 1-Theudas-Judas

with Acts v:36.

THE EGYPTIAN B ii 261ff; Antiq xx 169ff

A false prophet under Felix' rule who gathered 30,000 people to him.

JUDAS OF GALILEE

Re the founding of the Zealot order as popularly conceived see Zealots Appendix A Foakes-Jackson & Lake vol 1 p 421. This Judas Antiq xviii 23 is reported to have maintained regarding the 'Fourth Philosophy' "God is to be their only ruler and Lord". B II 118: Antiq xviii 4f

"It should be added that there is no reason for connecting the Zealots or even the Sicarii with any Messianic movement. The first Jew who is known to have proclaimed himself the Messiah is Bar Cochba". (Beg of Ch Jackson & Lake i p 424.

VESPASIAN

One other near-Messianic passage remains:

B vi 312 "What did most elate them in undertaking this war was an ambiguous oracle that was also found in their sacred writings. How about that time one from their country should become governor of the habitable earth". But Josephus goes on to state that this in his opinion is Vespasian: "The Jews took this prediction to themselves in particular and many of the wise men were thereby deceived in their determination. Now this oracle certainly denoted the government of Vespasian who was appointed Emperor in Judea".

"Josephus may have purposely slurred over the Messianic hopes of the Jews. He can speak of Messianic agitators, like Judas, Theudas and the Egyptian, who have failed in their claims and he can dismiss the Jewish Messianic prophecies by implying their fulfillment in Vespasian, but how will he dispose of this new Messianic movement, which the Romans of his own day regard with disfavour and associate closely with the Jews"? (Case, S.J.Historicity of Jesus p 262) "May not indifference on Josephus' part have been the main reason for his silence?"

So, while the Judaism of Extra-Palestine is Judaism still, and the salvation which Yahweh God will bring to the Jew of Palestine is not different from the salvation which the Jewish member of the Synagogue expects outside Palestine, even this jealously particularistic religion was influenced by the Greek environment of the Mediterranean world.[28] And the Messiah concept no longer is central in their thought of Yahweh's salvation.

28/ Cf.Bentwich, Hellenism p 126 "The influence of Hellenistic thought on the Jewish communities of the diaspora was naturally larger and more direct than on Palestinian Jewry; for in the dispersion the Jews were not merely surrounded by but living in the midst of a Greek-speaking cosmopolitan population. And they lacked the solidarity and the power of resistance to foreign ideas which is the outcome of a concentrated national life in a separate territory.

MESSIANISM Beyond Palestine

Among

B) GENTILES

The change in the translation of Paul's reported speech at Athens (Acts 17:22: Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ πάντα ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστέρους ὑμᾶς θεωρῶ). which in the 1611 version runs "Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious" and in the 1881 (American Standard 1901) reads "Ye men of Athens, in all things I perceive that ye are very religious", quite truly reflects the changed conception of the religious situation in the Greco-Roman world at the beginning of our era.[29] "The popular ideas on the subject are not only vague, but erroneous. A general notion that, shortly before the coming of Christ, the Pagans had tiredof their gods, and, lost to all sense of decency, had given themselves up to unbridled immorality founded on atheistic ideas, is probably about as far as the man who has given no special study to the subject would venture to go. Such a view ... is almost the reverse of the truth. There has probably been no time in the history of mankind when all classes were more given up to thoughts of religion or when they strained more after high ethical ideals".[30]

29/ Papyri and Non-Literary evidence alone is not responsible for the changed rendering: See δεισιδαίμων Vocabulary of Greek New Testament Moulton and Milligan Pt II p 139.

30/ Legge, F. Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity, 2 vols. Cambridge University Press, 1915, vol i page xlix.

Gentile parallels to the Messianism of Judaism are at hand, exhibiting a similar pessimistic outlook [51] upon the world-order then obtaining and the hope of a coming Golden Age. At times that hope finds focus in an individual but the passages are 'Messianic' only by virtue of analagous hopes and fears: the word 'Messiah' is in no case present.[52]

Such 'Messianic' passages of the Gentile world are found

51/ Burkitt, F.C. Gospel History and Its Transmission T.& T. Clark 3 ed 1911 xvii 366 p : "The hope of the Second Coming of the Son of Man has faded with us into an unsubstantial dream. We are not expecting a new heaven and a new earth, - at least not in our time ... Yet it is imperative that we should realize the point of view of our Lord's contemporaries..... It is no use to allegorize altogether the idea of the Second Advent, - still less to regard "The Kingdom of God is within you" as the only genuine teaching of Jesus and all the rest as carnal mis-understanding on the part of the disciples. The true way is to accept the Coming of the Messiah upon the Clouds of Heaven, to gather together his Elect from every quarter as the natural picture, the natural way of expressing in the triumph of good over evil, - all that people mean nowadays by the vague word Progress. The age in which our Lord lived did not believe in progress. It was too bad an age, at least for the class of people among whom Christianity grew up. The only progress they had seen was progress to the bad."

52/ "In classical Greek the adjective Χριστός is rare and poetical....It is doubtful whether such an expression as ὁ Χριστός would have conveyed any meaning at all to a Greek, the less because the custom of anointing kings or priests was unknown. To his ear it would suggest only ὁ Χρίων. It was inevitable therefore that this unintelligible epithet should coalesce with the proper name Ἰησοῦς ".
Beginnings of Christianity vol i Prolegomena vol i p 347.

in the literature of Egypt[33] Babylonia[34] Persia[35] Greece[36] and Rome.[37] The familiar 4th Eclogue of Virgil approximates most nearly the 'Messianic' passages

33/ Merneptah, the divinely appointed protector of Egypt bestows the favor of the great sun-god Re. Case, S.J.Millenial Hope p 9ff where this literature is cited.
Isis-Osiris cult depicting the successful struggle of man against death.

34/ Marduk 'Our avenger' conquers the powers of chaos, orders the course of the stars, shapes the heaven and earth, brings fertility and prosperity and is merciful and compassionate to the repentant sinner.
Utnapishtim, the Babylonian Noah.
Ishtar, the mother-goddess, who escaped from Hades, bringing backs the joys of Spring.
Hammurabi, "am I who brought about plenty and abundance, the lord adorned with sceptre and crown, whom the wise God Ma-ma has clothed with complete power". Code of Hammurabi.
Babylonia Magi

35/ Zoroaster who is conceived as opening our 3,000 year age, the last; at the end of that age the world will end. Zoroaster is the founder of true religion.
Soshyans the Saviour is born miraculously from Zoroaster's seed and then ensues the physical resurrection of the dead.

36/ The early myth re creation: the primaeval chaos and the emergence of Zeus.
Hesiod's Works and Days with its golden age in the past. The myth re Deucalion, the Greek Noah.

37/ Horace Epodes 7: 16: Tibullus i 3
A new day was the hope, as at the funeral of Caesar Servius on Virgil Ecl ix 46.
But most of all Virgil's Messianic Eclogue, i.e., the 4th.

of Jewish literature,-

so nearly that the influence of the Jewish prophecies,

e.g., Isaiah, is traced.

"Lo, the last age of Cumae's seer has come!
Again the great millennial aeon dawns.
Once more the hallowed Maid appears, once more
Kind Saturn reigns, and from high heaven descends
The first born child of promise. Do but thou
Pure goddess - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - smile softly on this babe:
The age of iron in his time shall cease
And golden generations fill the world.
E'en now - - - - - - -
Apollo rules and ends the older day.
Under thy banner all the stains of ill,
That shame us yet, shall melt away and break
The long, long night of universal dread."
-- -- -- -- -- --

I 24ff. Nature will welcome this Child of the New Age
"The goats shall come uncalled, weighed down with milk!
-- -- -- -- -- --
"Come, Child, and greet thy mother with a smile[38]:
Ten weary waiting months her love has known".

38/ The translation by R. S. Conway in
Might, J.B., Fowler, W.Warde, and Conway, R.S. Virgil's
Messianic Eclogue. 1907, Murray, London, xi 146 p

Various interpretations have been put upon this poem: the Mediaeval Church thought that this was a prophecy of the coming of Jesus Christ. It is now generally regarded as a poem written to celebrate the forthcoming birth of a child and hoped-for heir to Empire: to Octavian's bitter disappointment the child born early in 39 B.C. was a girl, Julia, and the mother, Scribonia, was divorced the same day. But the poem was not suppressed.

Elsewhere in Virgil are the hopes of a New Age as here, e.g., Aeneid ii 506-558 and vi 543-627 and vi 792, where universal peace to war-ridden Rome with a golden age of justice is hoped.[39]

39/ See Boll Franz: Aus der Offenbarung Johannis (1914) where the influence of the Judaism fails to account for the imagery of the Apocalypsis, parallels can often be found in the Hellenistic literature of prediction.

40/ Schweitzer, A., Paul and his Interpreters, A & C. Black London, 1912 page 231.

Hermann Usener, Religion geschichtliche Untersuchungen: Das Weihnachtsfest 1889, 337 pp. Die Sintflutsagen 1899, 376 p

More apposite for an appreciation of the preparation which made possible the rapid spread of Christian Messianism over Asia Minor to Greece and Rome is the recognition of the sincere religious yearnings throughout the Empire at the beginning of the Christian era. The Jewish Messianic hope was religious, as the Christian Messianic hope was too: but Gentile cosmic speculations did not touch the actual life of butchers and bakers nearly so vitally as did their religion.

"To the Bonn philologist, - Hermann Usener, - belongs the credit of having been the first to being the Comparative Study of the pagan religious as they existed at the beginning of the Christian era into contact with theological science".[40] That was in 1889. Newly discovered inscriptions and papyri have supplemented the very fragmentary information classical philogists have gleaned from ancient literature, so that the religious situation in the Greco-Roman world of the first century has been recovered with some measure of certainty. And the net result is a recognition that the world into which Christianity entered was "very religious".

40/ Schweitzer, A., Paul and his Interpreters, A & C. Black London, 1912 page 181.
Hermann Usener, Religion geschichtliche Untersuchungen: Das Weihnachtsfest 1889, 337 pp. Die Sintflutsagen 1889,276 p

The religious forces of that first century world were many and varied: after Alexander men could not be as they had been before and the unprecedented mingling of the peoples about the Mediterranean gave to life a complexity which is mirrored in the religions.

i The tribal and national gods, the city-state god, and the hero-god, all persist but with less confined boundaries for their beneficent activity.

ii The cult of the Emperor, recognition of the god-like quality of the strong ruler, bound in loyalty a very cosmopolitan empire.

iii Healing cults flourished; some of these existed by their own right and at times the healing activities were associated with the wider benefits of some cults. The travelling physician was a familiar figure.

iv The Mysteries, most influential, had brought from the East that personal and immediate salvation providing a present communion with the god by virtue of the rites of initiation and worship, and promising blessed immortality.

v The Philosophies - Stoicism, Epicureanism, and Neo-Platonism, - provided for those who, unmoved by ceremonial initiation and ritual worship, sought guidance and consolation in reason.

It is the philologists[41] of Hellenistic literature who have discovered to Christianity the very complex situation into which the new religion entered an active influence and in turn itself responsive to the environment.

41/ Dieterich, A., Reitzenstein, R., Usener, H., Cumont, and Bousset, especially.

CHAPTER IV

CHRISTIAN MESSIANISM

A. PAUL

B. CHRISTIAN MESSIANISM IN PAUL

C. HELLENIZATION OF CHRISTIAN MESSIANISM IN PAUL

CHRISTIAN MESSIANISM

A. PAUL

The earliest sources for Christian Messianism are the letters of Paul. Christianity had become influential beyond Palestine before Paul's Damascus experience, but no literature of the Palestinian and Early Hellenistic period has come down, at least in that early form. How the primitive Christian community expressed their religious life before their 'Christian' hopes were shared by Extra-Palestinian Christians cannot be told with sureness, for the earliest available Christian literature is from that Hellenistic world and after the movement had become established in several of the cities of that world.

Paul was a Jew.[1] Unlike the other apostles "that were before"[2] him he was of the Dispersion. Whatever his birthplace may have been[3], there is nothing to offset the tradition in Acts that Tarsus was his home. That he was of the Diaspora his literary remains give ample evidence.[4]

1/ II Cor 11:22 "Are they Hebrews? So am I. Are they Israelites? So am I".
Phil 3:5 "Circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel of the tribe of Benjamin: as touching the Law a Pharisee". Cf Rom 11:1 9:5 Gal 1:14

2/ Gal 1:17: cf. Gal 2:6

3/ Acts 22:3 "I am a Jew, born in Tarsus".
Cf. Acts 9:11 "A man of Tarsus".
9:30 "to Tarsus".
11:25 "To Tarsus to seek for Saul"
21:39 "I am a Jew, of Tarsus in Cilicia".
But Cf. Jerome de ill.vir v "Paul was of the tribe of Benjamin and the town of Giscalis in Judea".

4/ Cf this long appended note from Wilamowitz-Möllendorff in Die Kultur der Genenwart Teil I Abteilung viii 1905 p 137f in which he ranks Paul's Letters as classics of the Hellenistic period along side Epictetus and Plotinus,- literature not dependent upon any school or model, but streaming from the heart.

4/ "Es gab also in der jüdischen Schule von Tarsos eine entsprechende Tradition, wie denn die seit langer Zeit ganz hellenisierte Hauptstadt Kilikiens auch in Poesie und Grammatik nach Alexandreia gravitierte. Hellenische Bildungselemente hat aber Paulus direkt nicht aufgenommen...Gewiss ist der Hellenismus eine Vorbedingung für ihn; er liest nur die griechsche Bibel, denkt auch griechisch. Gewiss vollstrickt er unbewusst das Testament Alexanders, indem er das Evangelium zu den Hellenen bringt; aber er ist aus ganzen Holse geschnitzt, er ist Jude, wie Jesus ein Jude ist. Das aber dieser Jude, dieser Christ griechisch denkt und schreibt, für alle Welt und doch zunachst für die Bruder die er anredet, dass dieses Griechisch mit gar keiner Schule, gar keinem Vorbilde etwas zu thun hat, sondern unbeholfen in überstürztem Gesprüdel direkt aus dem Herzen strömt und doch eben Griechisch ist, kein übersetztes Aramäisch(wie die Sprüche Jesu), macht ihn zu einem Klassiker des Hellenismus .....

Als einen Ersatz seiner persönlichen Wirkung schreibt er seine Briefe. Dieser Briefstil ist Paulus. Es ist nicht Privat Brief und doch nicht Literatur.. .. Ihm war alle Literatur Tand, jede kunstlerische Ader fehlte ihm; um so höher muss man die kunstlerischen Wirkungen schätzen, die er gleichwohl erzielt.

Welche Stilisierung könnte den intimen Reiz des PhilipperBriefs erhöhen? Paulus offenbart der Welt für alle Zeit dass der Mensch Gott auch auf anderem Wege finden kann, als es die Hellen getan haben.

Gweisz ist Kunstlösigkeit absolut kein Vorzug; es rangiert die Geister dass Paulus für Platon nie Verständnis hätte haben können, weil Wissenschaft und Kunst auszer seinem Horizonte lagen, wohl Platon aber frei genug war, eine echt religiöse Persönlichkeit unf unstilisierte Herzlichkeit der Rede zu würdigen.

Aber ebenso musz man zugeben, dass Platon sich so ganz niemals hätte geben können, nicht nur weil dem künstlerischen Durchgebildeten die Formlosigkeit wider die Natur ist, sondern weil er ein Hellener war; sie mussen dichten wenn sie ganz sagen sollen, was sie leiden.

Die ganze griechische Literatur des Klassizismus wird dadurch gerichtet, dass die Nachahmung der Klassiker nur auf lateinisch in Cicero, Horaz, Vergil neue Klassiker zeugte, die griechische Sprache dagegen, wenn sie unmittelbar aus dem Herzen kommen sollte, ganz unkunstlerisch sein musste, wie sie es bei Paulus, Epiket, Plotin ist.

.....

Paulus hat zwar in der Wortfugung manchmal dagegen im Wortschatz sehr wenig hebräisiert."

Tarsus was the capital city of the province of Cilicia, important for commerce, being then on the sea, and for education.[5] That Paul would go to school with the Greeks seems improbable: of the strictest sect of the Jews[6], he would be kept apart, busied with the synagogue cirriculum.[7] Of course the Bible was for him the Septuagint; it is from this that he quotes,- generally if not always.[8] So, though of the consciously conservative Jewish group he would un-

C/Cont'd/ p 400 "More than half the direct quotations from the O.T. in the epistles of Paul are taken from the LXX without material change .... A smaller proportion show important variants ... In other passages St.Paul departs still further from the LXX quoting freely or fusing ten distinct passages into a single citation or consciously deserting the Alexandrian version altogether".... Re 1 Cor 14:21 and Isaiah 28:11f "The apostle's knowledge of the original has enabled him to improve the faulty rendering of the LXX". p 402.

5/ Ramsay, W. The Cities of St.Paul 1908 pp 85:244.
Böhlig Die Geisteskultur von Tarsus 1913('Unerreichbar!)

6/ Phil 3:5. Rom 11:1 Rom 9:3; Gal 1:15y-"The Gentile Sinners" - may be a citation.

7/ "Although his family lived in the Diaspora, Hebrew, - I.e., Aramaic, - was the language of the home". I can find no other than presumptive support for this opinion of Rudolf Knopf p 500 Am J. Th 1914 vol 18. He continues "The data which Paul himself supplies make it clear that Aramaic was his mother tongue." The data meant may be Paul's method of citation: see next note

8/ Paul almost always cites after the LXX.Kautzsch(de V.T. Locis a Paul. Ap allegatis, a Dissertation). maintains that he follows this version in every case(i.e., he does not refer to the Hebrew immediately): but a few familiar and proverbial passages (see Romans 8:35 9:17 11:14 11:35 I Cor 5:19 15:34) where it is very hard to explain his words from the Greek version, it is more natural to suppose that he cites not the Hebrew, but an Aramaic translation". Toy, in Quotations in the N.T.page xxxvi.
Again:- Swete, H.B. Introduction to the O.T.in Greek.

8/Cont'd/ p 400 "More than half the direct quotations from the O.T. in the epistles of Paul are taken from the LXX without material change .... A smaller proportion show important variants ... In other passages St.Paul departs still further from the LXX quoting freely or fusing tow distinct passages into a single citation or occasionally deserting the Alexandrian version altogether".... re 1 Cor 14:21 and Isaiah 28:11f "The apostle's knowledge of the original has enabled him to improve the faulty rendering of the LXX". p 402.

of Weiss, J. Das Urchristentum p 132.- His confidence in the "traditions" implies Hebrew, - Palestinian Theology.

wittingly be more open to the relaxing spirit of Hellenistic culture.

As a Pharisee,[8] he "advanced in the Jews' religion beyond many" of his own age among his country-men he says and that because he was "more exceedingly zealous for the traditions". (Gal 1:14). Acts reports him a disciple of Gamaliel in Jerusalem(Acts 22:3). In this rabbinic training as in his Extra-Palestinian up-bringing he differs from the earlier apostles. But there is no ground for scepticism at this point for his letters betray those interests which would be thus developed: e.g., he has the rabbi's love for the Law: as a Christian he seems never quite able to get away from the Law as "holy" (Rom 7:12), something that God Himself must take account of in dealing with men.(II Cor 5:21).[9] Moreover he has - in moderation - the accepted allegorical method of interpretation. (I Cor 9:9; Gal 3:16; Gal 4:21ff II Cor 3). That this rabbi-to-be should be able to earn his livelihood with his hands is as would be expected,[10] for the rabbis invariably had their private occupations; the elder Hillel earned a half denarius a day as wood-chopper.[11]

8 / Cf Gal 2:15 "Gentile Sinners"-"Lesser Creeds without the Law".

9 / "In den Briefen finden wir neben einander zwei Gedankenreihen uber das Gesatz, - eine negativ"radicale und bis zu einem gewissen Grade konservativ-bejahende".
Weiss, J. Urchristentum p 168f. The point is that his love for the Law which his rabbinic studies have brought him persists even when his Christian experience has shows him that the Law is superceded.

10/ Jewish Encyclopaedia Art 'Rabbi' - Other occupations named are building, blacksmithing, tanning. One rabbi was a laundry-man, another a shoe-maker, a wine taster, a water carrier, a tailor, a brewer. a sandal maker, a carpenter.

11/ 1 Thess 2:9 ; Cf. 2 Thess 3:8 1 Cor 9:15 2 Cor 11:7 2 Cor 12:13 ; 1 Thess 4:11 1 Cor 4:12 Acts 18:3 ; 20:34

At another point Paul differed from the companion-apostles of Jesus: he gives no evidence of having been acquainted with Jesus in the Days of his Flesh. As will be seen, he had come to know the character of the Jesus whose disciples he persecuted [12] but the evidence is lacking which would establish what is not impossible - this that he had actually seen Jesus in the flesh.[13] Even though the words of II Corinthians 5:16 are understood to imply that he had known Jesus, one point is clear - that he is going to have nothing to do with the earthly Jesus; and in his ministry he does not apparently draw on the story of that life for the edification

12/ "It would require space that I cannot here take to give the evidence that convinces me that Paul knew well, even before his vision just what manner of man Jesus was; and that the vision was his sudden conviction that this wholly unmessianic teacher, this lowly and crucifed one, was the heavenly Messiah of his faith". Prof. F.C.Porter, The Place of Apocalyptic Conceptions in the Thought of Paul in Journal of Biblical Literature vol 41 1922 p 194f.

13/ II Cor 5:16 Weiss, J. interprets this passage to show that Paul had seen Jesus and that this passing view had strengthened the hatred of the young rabbi for Jesus."Paul and Jesus". -

14/ Case, S. J., Evolution of Early Christianity p 113 note 1.

of his churches. A later leader discovered the all but inexhaustable store in that life. But Paul makes almost no use of these 'memorabilia'.

But there can be no doubt that the 'exalted' Christ, central in Paul's new-found freedom, is none other than the Jesus of history. The personal name, - 'Jesus', is used by him alone, or with 'Christ' or with 'Lord' or with these two as e.g., Our 'Lord Jesus Christ'.[14]. Moreover Paul once speaks of 'Jesus Christ' as of the "seed of David according to the flesh", (Rom 1:3), and refers to the incidents which are the prelude to great drama - the Resurrection - which demonstrated Jesus as Messiah, - namely the betrayal, (I Cor II:23), the Last Supper (I Cor 11:24), the Crucifixion (Phil 2:8) (I Thess 2:15 Gal 3:1), the Death (I Cor 15:3), the Burial (I Cor 15:3). He speaks of the earthly life of Jesus as of that

14/ Case, S. J., Evolution of Early Christianity p 113 note 1.

of a contemporary: the Resurrection is put three days after the burial (I Cor 15:4) when Peter is first to see and himself last, and a large group, of whom many remain alive at the time of the Corinthian letter, have also seen the risen Christ.

Some of the characteristic qualities of the life of Jesus as - the manifest poverty of that life so far as outward possessions go is in Paul "Who for our sakes became poor" II Cor 8:9.

- the sinlessness of the Temptation narrative parallels "Him who knew no sin" of 2 Cor 5:21.

- gentle and meek - I "Entreat you by the meekness and gentleness of Christ" in 2 Cor 10:1.

- 'for others' in service - Rom 15:3 "Christ also pleased not himself".

- obedient - "Not my will" equals "becoming obedient even unto death, yea the death of the cross" of Phil 2:8

Paul speaks of the brothers of Jesus, and of one by name - James,- whom he had seen on at least two occasions (I Cor 9:5, Gal 1:19, 2:9). He knows that Jesus had gathered about him a group of twelve, two of whom he names Peter and John: "Seen of Cephas, then of the Twelve" I Cor 15:5: "Peter" Gal 1:18, 2:7, 2:8, 2:11, 2:14 or "Cephas" I Cor 1:12, 3:22, 9:5, 15:5 and Gal 2:9, "John" Gal 2:9.

On occasion Paul appeals directly to the Teaching of the "Lord": "I give charge, yea, not I but the Lord, that the wife depart not from her husband" (I Cor 7:10 12 cf.Mk 10:9); "Even so did the Lord ordain that they that proclaim the gospel should live of the gospel" (I Cor 9:14 cf.Lk 10:7) "When he had given thanks he broke it and said 'this is my body'" (I Cor 11:24 of. Mk 14:22) [15] I Thess 4:15.

Paul is satisfied that the gospel which he preaches is at one with that which the immediate followers of Jesus had proclaimed: "Whether it is I or they - having just named those who had seen the Risen Jesus - so we preach and so ye believed".

15/ Morgan, (W. The Religion and Theology of Paul p 34) gives a list of parallel passages in which dependance upon the thought or language is at least arguable.

That only the closing events of Jesus' life bulk in Paul's thought is only a piece with the Gospel tradition: Mark devotes seven of his sixteen chapters to the same closing week (18 pages with 22 and a half for the earlier ministry in the W H text). It was later Christians who pushed the story back to his birth (Mt and LK) or before (Jn).

Yet it must be added that Paul deliberately keeps the earthly lifeof Jesus in the background (II Cor 5:16): he would not have that obscure the event by whiche he had been made certain that 'last things' had already begun, - namely the Resurrection of Jesus (I Cor 15:20:28) [16]

16/"It is one thing to expect a supernatural intervention of God in the immediate future, the incoming of the heavenly world and its powers, bringing this present world to an end and bringing in the world to come and quote another thing to believe that an event recently passed was the hoped for coming of God into the world, the overthrow of the powers of evil and the inauguration of the time of redemption and blessedness".
(F.C.Porter The Place of Apoca in Paul p 183).

Paul had abundant opportunity to acquaint himself with the details of the life and teaching of Jesus. He could never forget that he had persecuted this group. He knew enough about the new movement to see that it was proper object for the zealous rabbi's displeasure; after the Damascus experience Paul had visited Peter for 15 days (Gal 1:18), Peter to whom more than to any other single person the primitive group attributed the insight that led them to make the great adventure. He had intercourse with James, and Barnabas and Silas of the Jerusalem Church; Mark, who was Peter's interpreter in the Greek world, also of the Jerusalem Church, was one of the travelling companions of Paul's, as was the other Gospel writer, Luke. He had seen this 'Messiah's' disciples under persecution and had relations with the Christian group at Damascus immediately upon joining the new movement. Moreover, he says that he did 'receive'[18] the tradition in regard to some of the details of the earthly life of Jesus: it is true that in the heat of argument he maintains that the gospel he preaches he had received of no mane (Gal 1:12). But the situation will account for the seeming contradiction. Paul is speaking in the heat of argument and as a Jew of the first century. And the Jerusalem Church admit the legitimacy of Paul's gospel by giving to him the right hand of fellowship (Gal 2:9).

17/ Case, S.J. Paul's Historical Relation to the First Disciples. Am J. Th. Vol 11 (1907) p 278tt.

18/ I Cor 15:3: cf. Bacon, B.W. The Gospel Paul Received in Am J Th.

Why Paul should neglect the details of the life of Jesus when he had had the opportunity to acquaint himself with that history and when he had come to appreciate so the character and message is a puzzle. It would seem that some enthusiastic followers of Jesus,- who had been his companions in Galilee,- but who had only partially understood Jesus, were now priding themselves, pluming themselves, in their 'superior' apostleship' and discrediting the work of this one who had not had that intimate fellowship with Jesus in Galilee. That is what is in the early chapters of II Corinthians and Dr.Morgan has a suggestive interpretation of 5:16: "The clue to the motive is almost certainly to be found in the preceding reference to certain men who gloried in appearance and not in heart. Who are these men? They can hardly be other than the Judaisers .... In maintaining the continued validity of the Law these men would inevitably emphasize the fact that Jesus had Himself observed the Law and spoken words that implied its eternal obligation. The Apostle cannot deny the facts, but he puts upon them his own interpretation... That there were those who claimed superior authority on the ground that they had companied with Christ in the days of His flesh or were related to Him by ties of blood, is nothing to Him".(Page 38) A very similar situation arises in the Galatian churches, and in that letter where the very first word "Throws down the gauntlet" Παυλος Ἀποστολος is a hint similar to II Cor 5:16-

Other factors doubtless entered into Paul's neglect of the human life of Jesus. Dr. Morgan suggests two others: - that Paul thinks of Christ almost exclusively as Redeemer and concentrates his redemptive significance in His death and resurrection; and that it is the risen Christ, rather than the Jesus who taught the multitude and healed the sick on the shores of Galilee who is Paul's Saviour.[19]

Wrede's thesis that the Being whose disciple and apostle (Paul) wished to be was not actually the historical man Jesus, but another (Paul p 166 Eng Tr) is a recognition of the paucity of references to that actual life. But that there is "only one explanation: Paul believed in such a celestial being, in a divine Christ before he believed in Jesus"(p 151)[20] and so cut away all connection between Paul and his Lord, accounting for the Christianity of Paul in the common Jewish heritage is to miss completely the significance of that experience on the Damascus Way which colored all Paul's subsequent life.

19/ The Religion and Theology of Paul p 36.

20/ Cf Martin Brűckner Die Entstehung der Paul.Christologie Strassburg 1903 237 pages. In the Preface Dr.Brűckner sums up the result of the investigation which his book represents thus: "Die vorliegende Arbeit.....bringt..den Nachweis, dass das Christusbild des Paulus fast ganz unabhängig von der geschichtlichen Persönlichkeit Jesu entstanden ist".

This lack of intimate personal fellowship with Jesus before the Resurrection had some advantage; the immediate disciples were hampered in their appropriation of Jesus' religious significance by reason of their very familiarity with the inconsequential details; Paul had that detachment from the outer trappings of that life which enabled him to see clearly the implications of the new-found freedom in Christ Jesus. Yet - a will be seen - Paul does draw on the Life and Teachings of Jesus, very largely

(p ~~245ff~~ 175ff)

Paul's enthusiastic Pharisaic career was terminated abruptly. In or near Damascus (Gal 1:17) he says he became convinced,-- not that the heavenly Messiah had appearedto him for that the Messiah was in heaven whence he would come to earth had been Paul's Jewish faith,-- but that the heavenly Messiah was no other than the hitherto despised and crucified Jesus.[21]

The details which would give to a 20th century mind a psychological explanation of the stimuli which produced this conversion experience can only be conjectured. For Paul the experience was from God. It was God who had set him apart from his birth, it was God who had called him, and who in his own good time had revealed his Son to him. True Jew, he was not concerned with secondary causes.

We try to make rational this experience of salvation which for Paul with his instinct for religious reality colored all his subsequent life. We picture the callow youth,

21/ For Paul's own references to this experience see Gal 1:15ff I Cor 15:8; I Cor 9:1 II Cor 4:6 and Phil 3:7FF. The three narratives in Acts are Acts 9:3-9; 22:6-16; 26:12-18.

fresh from Gamaliel's lecture hall attending his Greek synagogue at Jerusalem; there he hears some layman, Stephen may be, give an interpretation of the Scriptures concerning the Messiah which outrages his rabbinic upbringing. We dwell upon the influence which the death of Stephen, e.g., must have had upon him. In later life Paul wrote of his despair of ever keeping the Law so as to merit God's good judgment. But that was after controversy with Judaisers who would put the burden of the Law upon the Gentiles as well and he was in the controversial letters trying to commend the Christian's freedom in Christ Jesus as against the burden legalists would impose on all. We try, but psychological explanation of his conversion fail for lack of available detail. The religious satisfaction which was his when he came to see that he had mis-judged God, that the homely Jesus, so unlike his picture of the regnant Messiah soon to come, was indeed his Yahweh's Anointed, this religious satisfaction that came with the revelation that God does not require so much the keeping of the Law as the filial attitude, this Paul looked upon as God's good gift. It was God who showed him Jesus Risen: he saw no connection between his former life and companionships and struggles and the vision of Jesus the Messiah.[22]

22/ Cf the translation of Acts 18:5 and 18:28 in the R.V. and the text of W.H.

B CHRISTIAN MESSIANISM IN PAUL

i - Two significant transitions in the history of Messianism were made in the Apostolic Age; the first was that made consequent upon the death of Jesus when the mind of Jesus lived on in those whom he had gathered about him and they came to identify the Jesus whom they had known so intimately in Galilee as their Apocalyptic Messiah; it is the transition from the earthly life of Jesus to the heavenly. In this the person who stands out pre-eminent for insight is Peter. Paul says (I Cor 15:5) it was Peter who was first to see, just as in the other tradition, the Synoptic narrative, it was Peter who was the first to define who Jesus was (Mk 8:28). Peter and others after him of the Primitive Church made the transition from being disciples of Jesus to becoming disciples of the Christ.

ii The second transition was that which made Christianity no mere sect of Judaism but a universal religion in which there was no room for "Jew and Greek"

ὅπου οὐκ ἔνι Ἕλλην καὶ Ἰουδαῖος
περιτομὴ καὶ ἀκροβυστία
βάρβαρος Σκύθης
δοῦλος ἐλεύθερος - ἀλλὰ πάντα
καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν Χριστός.

(Col 3:11)

In this transition from Judaism to humanity the early Extra-Palestinian Christians who were in reality already disregarding the barriers of race and status, the uncalendared saints of Stephen's line, are the pioneers.

The universality of the Old Testament Prophets as in Amos 9:7ff and Micah 4 and Isaiah 2:2ff, was an ideal the Jews did not seriously attempt to realize. Even Philo's universalism is in reality universal particularism; he regarded the Pentateuch as the source of universal truth, superior to all else; that the ceremonial enactments of the Torah should be left behind does not seem to have occured to him. But the Christian Church was for the first two centuries essentially a Greek movement; and it was Paul who brought into explicitness what had been implicit in the faith of the early Extra-Palestinian Christians.

In these two transitions in which Jesus is being re-interpreted was Jesus the dominant factor or did they make Him yield to their own older theological preconceptions ? Did Peter find a place for an earthly life in the career of the heavenly apocalyptic Messiah ? Or did he revise his conception of the victory of Israel over other nations through the apocalyptic Messiah of his inheritance in conformity with the un-messianic character of Jesus' life and teaching? When the Extra-Palestinian Christians called Jesus Lord did they appropriate to Jesus features of value in their Hellenistic religions, or did they merely equate the word Kyrios with Jewish term Messiah ? Did Paul subject his inherited hopes to Jesus or did he ⇒ as Revelation has done - subordinate Jesus to his former apocalyptic hope ?

1. It must be borne in mind that Paul was a rabbi-trained Jew. The Pharisaci stress was not on the Messianic hope but on keeping the Law, a stress which eventually issued in the codification of that oral interpretation of the Torah. The titles which Paul applies to Jesus are therefore significant, - showing Paul's new interest. Paul uses

a)	Ἰησοῦς	Rom 5:36	in all 9 times in Paul not including Pastorals.
or	ὁ Ἰησοῦς	Rom 8:11	7 times
b)	Χριστός	Rom 5:6	129 times (case) EEC p 113
or	ὁ Χριστός	Rom 7:4	74 "
	ὁ Χριστός	— Not with reference to Jesus is not found in Paul as in Mt 2:4.	
c)	κύριος	Rom 10;9	129 times;*rare in other parts of the N.T. A complete list is difficult to give because of the difficulty of deciding in all cases whether the reference is to God or Christ *Burton, Galatians page 392.
or	ὁ κύριος	I Cor 4:5	in all 10 times
d)	Ἰησοῦς Χριστός	Rom 1:6	20 "
e)	Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς	Rom 6:3	46 "
or	ὁ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς	Gal 5:24; Eph 3:1	2 "
f)	Κύριος Ἰησοῦς	Rom 14:14	4 "
or	ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς	I Cor 5:5	11 "
g)	Ἰησοῦς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν	Rom 4:24	or in some other order in all 8 "
h)	Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός	Rom 1:7	14 "
or	ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός	Rom 13:14	6 "

i) Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς κύριος II Cor 4:5 in all 1

j) ὁ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ὁ κύριος Col 2:6 1

k) ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός Rom 5:1 26 times

l) Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Rom 1:4 4

M) Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Rom 8:25 3 and 3 in Timothy

n) Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ὁ κύριος μοῦ Phil 3:8 1

o) ὁ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ὁ κύριος Eph 3:11 1

p) υἱὸς θεοῦ Rom 1:4 1

or ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ Rom 1:3

or ὁ υἱός with some possessive adjective 12

q) ὁ υἱός and other titles

as — ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν

I Cor 1:9; II Cor 1:19 2

r) σωτήρ is applied to Jesus only in Phil 3:20 and is not here used as a title.

What connotation κύριος had for Paul need not detain here.

It should be observed that ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου so common in the Synoptics and almost always (always in the Synoptics) in the mouth of Jesus Himself is not used at all by Paul.

The repeated occurrence of the gradually narrowed titles familiar in the Messianic passages of the contemporary Jewish literature can leave no doubt that the Messiah concept was used by Paul in evaluating Jesus Risen. Of all the words Χριστός is by far the most frequent: -Χριστός 343 times

-κύριος 216 "

-Ἰησοῦς 168 "

Has the Pharisee turned Apocalyptist ?

Which Χριστός does Paul mean ?

However much the Davidic hope may have been entertained by Jesus' immediate disciples before the crucifixion the Messiah of David's line does not enter as a possibility, - for the death of Jesus had destroyed forever that,- so far as Jesus was concerned. Only one reference in Paul's letters persists, - an innocuous recollection of the abandoned dream,- "born of the seed of David" in Romans 1:3.

Nor does the priestly Messiah of the line of Levi have any place (t Levi 18). One or two features from that delineation of the coming deliverance do find some reflection in Paul:- re the coming priest Messiah who "shall execute righteous judgment" -- "lighting up the light of knowledge as the Sun the Day". (t Levi 18:3;)Cf. t Levi 4:3 "he shall shine forth as the sun on the earth and shall remove all darkness from under heaven". With this light-giving trait in the Messiah compare "the light of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ" II Cor 4:4 (Cf also the account in Acts of the conversion of Paul where a dazzling light is prominent). Romans 16:20 "The God of peace will bruise Satan under your feet shortly", recalls this from the t Levi "Beliar shall be bound by him and he shall give power to his children to tread upon the evil spirits". Cf also 2 Cor 6:14 "What communion hath light with darkness, and what concord hath Christ with Beliar"? But while these are from the apocalypse where the priestly Messiah is depicted they seem here to be only details appropriated to the controlling conception of the apocalyptic Messiah.

23) See page 137ff

2. There are passages in the Letters which unmistakably show that Paul took over - apparently from the Primitive Church * the apocalyptic interpretation of Jesus as Messiah. a) In his first letter to the Thessalonians (1:9) he sums up the content of his preaching or at least the result of that preaching: "Ye turned unto God from idols to serve a living and true God and to wait[23] for his son from heaven[24], whom he raised from the dea, even Jesus who delivereth us from the wrath to come".[25]

Here are the characteristic features of Apocalyptic Messianism:-

-The present age was on the point of closing: "to wait for his son".

-The Messiah, about whom there can be no doubt - it is Jesus "whom He raised from the dead" - , was shortly to come to deliver his own from the impending judgment.

Already upon some Jews who had opposed Paul "the wrath is come to the uttermost" (2:16) But the Thessalonians "know perfectly that the day of the Lord[26] so cometh as a thief in the night, .. as travail upon a woman[27]" and they will not be caught as by a "thief" (5:4). So near was the relief that some were even neglecting their daily work (4:11f).

Though the parousia was imminent there are some that have fallen "asleep"[28] before Jesus' return "with all his saints"[29] and Paul has to quiet the misgivings of their friends with the assurance that on that day "the deadin Christ will rise first"[31] all Christians "that are alive that areleft unto the coming of the Lord shall in no wise precede[30] them that are fallen asleep".[32] Why,-

23/ See page 139ff

"The Lord himself shall descend from heaven, with a shout,[32] with a voice of the archangel,[33] and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we that are alive, that are left, shall together with them be caught up in the clouds[34] to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord". (4:16). And the conclusion is no less apocalyptic- "May your spirit, soul and body, be preserved entire,[35] without blame at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ" (5:23).

b) To the same Christians in the second Letter(the authenticity of which is questioned by many), the same vivid apocalyptic hopes are held out, - namely "the revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven with the angels of his power[35a] in flaming fire"[36](1:7), rendering "vengeance to them that know not God" or "obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus". But "he shall come to be glorified with his saints ... in that day".

Again their fears due to the delay of "the day of the Lord" need allaying; it is not "just at hand"; it will not come till "the Man of Sin[37] be revealed, the Son of Perdition", he that opposeth and "exalteth himself against all that is called God, setting himself forth as God". As yet some restraining influence keeps this Devil's Messiah from going to the full; but "in his own season . . . . shall be revealed the Lawless One whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the breath of his mouth"[38](II Thess 2). So they are to continue, expectant, but industrious.

In these two Letters dependence upon Jewish Apocalyptic is well nigh demonstrable:

23/ "To wait" i.e., the time will not be long. "we that are alive".

I Cor 7:29f "the time is shortened".
I Cor 15:51 "We shall not all sleep".
I Cor 10:11 "upon whom the ends of the ages have come".
Rom 13:11 "for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed".
Phil 4:5 "The Lord is at hand".
I Cor 16:22 Maran atha.
Rom 16:20 "shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly".
Eph 1:21 "in this age and in the age to come".

4 Esr 4:26 "If thou survive thou shalt see..for the age is hastening fast to its end".
4 Esr:44f "The time to come is to the time that is past as the last drops are to the storm..or as the smoke..after a great fire. For as the rain is more than the drops and as the fire is greater than the smoke so has the measure of what is past exceeded by far; but there are still left the drops and the smoke."
Cf Ezra 14:11 "There remain.. two parts besides the half of the 10th part." "The world has lost its youth the times begin to wax old".
Bar 23:7 "My redemption has drawn nigh".

Passages seeming to show a later modified expectancy:
Rom 11:25 "until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in". as if the Coming would be later.
Phil 3:11 "I may attain unto the resurrection of the dead" as if he would die.
But of Rom 13:11 & Phil 4:5, above

24/"His son from heaven"	Cf Phil 2: 6-8.	4 Ezr 14:9"My son until the times be ended". Cf 13:26; 12:32;7:28 See above p 319.
25/"the wrath to come".	Cf I Thes 5:9 "appointed us not unto wrath". Rom I:8 "the wrath of God is revealed". Rom 2:5 "escape the judgment of God". Rom 2:5-16. Rom 2:5 "wrath unto the day of wrath". Rom 5:5 "visiteth with wrath". Rom 5:9 "saved from the wrath of God" Col 3:6 "cometh the wrath of God	Enoch 1:7 "There shall be a Judgment upon all" En 38:1"Sinners shall be judged. En 90:24"Judgment was held" En 91:15 There shall be judgment in wh he will execute vengeance amongst the angels." En 84:4"abideth the wrath until the great day of judgment".En 100:4f
	It is God who shall judge Rom 2:5 "righteous judgment of God". Rom 2:16 God shall judge the secrets of men". 2 Thes 1:5 "righteous judgment of God". Cf Rom 3:6, 3:19 i Cor 5:13	
	Saints shall take part I Cor 6:2 "saints shall judge the world". I Cor 6:3"we shall judge angels". I Cor 4:9 "We are made a spectacle both to angels and men".	Enoch 95:3"The Lord will deliver the sinners into the hands that ye may execute judgment upon them" Enc 98:12"Know that ye uprighteous shall be delivered into the hands of the righteous". En 62:12 He will deliver them to the angels for punishment and they shall be a spectacle for the righteous and for his elect."

God is Judge
in Rom 2:5
5:6
I Cor 5:13

as in

the Jewish lit-
erature
the Messiah judges
so in Paul a place
is found in the
judgment-program
for the Christ

I Cor 4:4
I Thess 4:6

But of especially
Rom 14:10 &
2 Cor 5:10 where
in almost identical
sentences the two
are interchanged.
"Before the judgment
seat of God,..
"of Christ".

In the Contemporary Jewish
works it is God who is the
judge usually.

But in Enoch 38:2 the
Salvation Bringer is Judge.
(p 328 above).
(see p 537 above).
the section on the Messiah
as Judge.)

26/	"The day of the Lord" "The Lord is our Avenger" I Thess 4:6 The O. T. Day of Yahweh becomes the "Day of our Lord" & cannot say whether God or Christ is meant in some places.	I Cor 1:8 "In the Day of our Lord Jesus Christ". Phil 1:6 "until the day of Jesus Christ". Phil 1:10 "unto the day of Christ". Cf Col 1:22	Jewish tradition spoke of the time just preceding the coming of the Messiah as one of great distress, and tumult, the birth-pangs of the Messiah, marked by wars, famine, pestilence, earthquake, disputes between members of the same household. (Above p 333-335). -4Ezr 5:1-13:-Concerning the signs, however, behold the days come when the inhabitants of the earth shall be seized with great panic...iniquity shall be increased...the land shall be a pathless waste. Then shall the sun suddenly shine forth by night, and the moon by day and blood shall trickle forth from wood..fire shall burst forth.." -Apoc Bar 70 Enoch 99, "Woe..." "Woe..." "Woe..." -Ass Mos 10 -Bar 70 "Whosoever escapes these things, (hatred, war, earthquake, fire, famine) will be delivered into the hands of my Messiah".
27/	"Travail upon a woman"	Marriage is discouraged "by reason of the distress that is upon us". I Cor 7:26f.	4Ezr 5:50 "Ask a woman who has borne children" 4Ezr 6:19ff "pregnant women shall bring forth untimely births" 4Ezr 5 1-12 "pregnant women shall bring forth untimely births."
28/	"them that fall asleep" "them that are fallen asleep".	I Cor 15:20 "first fruits of them that slept"	4 Ezr 7:32 "The earth shall restore those that sleep in her".

29/"With all his saints".		-Enoch 50:3"Lo!He comes with ten thousands of holy ones to execute judgment." -4 Esr 7:28"My Messiah shall be revealed together with those who are with him". -4 Esr 14:9"Thou shalt remain with my son and with such as are like thee until the times are ended.. for the world has lost its youth
30/We that are alive shall in no wise precede" Something led Paul to run counter to the Esra idea 13:24 that the surviving till the parousia are the more blessed: maybe it was the necessity of encouraging those that remained.		4 Esr 13:24-26"Those that survive are more blessed than those that have died". Cf 4 Esr 7:32 See note 527 above.
31/"The dead in Christ will rise first"	Of I Cor 15: 23 Of II Cor 5:1-10	4 Esra 7:32 "The earth shall restore those that sleep in her." Apoc Bar 50:2"The earth shall assurredly restore the dead which it now receives in order to preserve them It shall make no change in their form but as it has received so shall it restore them and as I delivered them unto it so also shall it raise them". In Bar 51 the resurrected ones afterwards undergo change: "the aspect of those who now act wickedly shall become worse than it is." As for theothers "justified in my Law..the form of their face shall be turned into the light of their beauty". Cf Sibyl 4 180ff

32/"with a shout a voice of the archangel"

The 'Archangel' is Michael?

Cf 4 Esr 6:23
III Bar 11:2 "There was a great sound, as thunder, and I said' Lord, what is this sound? And he said to me Even now Michael the commander of the angels comes down to receive the prayers of men".

33/"The trump of God" — I Cor 15: 52"At the last trump".

4 Esr 6:23"And the trumpet shall sound aloud" apparently to awaken the dead for judgment.

34/"Caught up in the clouds"

Dan 7:13 "And there came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a Son of Man.

35/"Be preserved entire"

Cf Bar 50:2 quoted above under(535) p
Cf Sibyl IV 180f"God Himself shall fashion again the bones and ashes of men and raise up mortals once more as they were before".

35a/"his power" — Rom 1-4 "with power

Cf Enoch 62.

36/"flaming fire" — Cf 1 Cor 3:13

Sibyl 4:180 "God shall quench the giant fire, even as he kindled it".
Cf Bar 70
Sibyl 3:60f"Come it will whenever the odor of brimstone pervades all mankind".
Sibyl 4:418

37/ "The Man of Sin".

Cf Dan 11:36f and Mk 13:14
Bar 40 "The last leader will be bound and my Messiah will convict him of all his impieties". And afterwards he will be put to death".
III Sibyl 60ff"O wretched me,- when shall that day arrive?Even the judgment of the eternal God, the mighty King. Come it will whenever the odour of brimstone pervades all mankind.Beliar shall come in later time, many shall be deceive..Then the judgment of the mighty God shall come into the midst of the mighty aeon when all these things shall come to pass".

38/ "with the breath of his mouth".

Cf Isa 11:4 "With the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked".

Enoch 62 killed
"The word of his mouth destroyed all sinners".

summon the dead; and the Messiah's final victory. The enemies are not the earthly empires as in Daniel and Psalms of Solomon but 'spiritual powers of wickedness in heavenly places'(Eph 1:20-23). "The last enemy that shall be abolished is death" whereupon the Messiah turns over his completed work to God: "then shall the Son also himself be subjected to Him that did subject all things unto him,-that God may be all in all." As in the Apocalypses the Messiah is the agent and does not here share in that worship which is offered to Yahweh alone.(See above p 346)[38]

38/ For verbal similarities compare I Cor 16:19 with Bar 21: 13 and I Cor 15:30 with 4 Ezr 7:89.

3. In the accounts of the nature of the future life Paul has recourse to some apocalyptic elements from his Jewish heritage. In I Corinthians 15 the church at Corinth was disturbed as to the nature of that "body" they were to have in their risen life; to ease their misgivings Paul reminds them of the tradition which he had handed down and of his own experience as to the resurrection of Jesus. Similarly would they "all be changed".

Some details of the final drama, as in Thessalonians are here: the 'nearness' - "we shall not all sleep";- the 'millenial' reign of Christ - "He must reign till he hath put all things under"; (see above page 67ff); "the last trump" to summon the dead; and the Messiah's final victory. The enemies are not the earthly empires as in Daniel and Psalms of Solomon but 'spiritual powers of wickedness in heavenly places' (Eph 1:20-22). "The last enemy that shall be abolished is death" whereupon the Messiah turns over his completed work to God: "then shall the Son also himself be subjected to Him that did subject all things unto him,-that God may be all in all." As in the Apocalypses the Messiah is the agent and does not here share in that worship which is offered to Yahweh alone. (See above p 346)[39]

39/ For verbal similarities compare I Cor 15:19 with Bar 21: 15 and I Cor 15:30 with 4 Esr 7:89.

The most deep-going conception here is that of the two ages, 'aeons', the present and another. As in 4 Ezra 7:50 "The Most High has made not one age but two, so too in Paul apparently this distinction exists. "Clear evidence of a definitely framed doctrine of the two ages עולם הזה

this age and the age to come does not appear among Jewish writers before the last pre-Christian century". (Burton, E.D.Galatians p 423). Examples of this apparent distinction in Paul are

Rom 12:2 "be not conformed to this world" αἰών
I Cor 1:20 "the disputer of this world"
2:6 "of this world"
2:8 "princes of this world"
3:18 "seemeth to be wise in this world"
II Cor 4:4 "God of this world"
Gal 1:4 "this present evil world"
Eph 1:21 "not only in this world but also in that which is to come" (the only place where the 'age' to come occurs)
Eph 2:7 "the coming ages" (tois)

pl as in the last Eph 2:7
I Cor 2:7 (is sing in WH)
I Cor 10:11 "Upon whom the ends of the Ages have come"

κόσμος is also used but with a difference

Rom 1:8	I Cor 1:20	I Cor 5:10	I Cor 14:10		
1:20	1:21	5:10	II Cor 5:19		
3:6	1:27	6:2		7:10	
3:19	1:28	7:31	Gal	4:3	
4:13	2:12	7:31		6:14	
5:12	3:19	7:33	Eph	1:4	
5:13	3:22	7:34		2:2	
11:12	4:9	8:4		2:12	
11:15	4:13	11:32	Phil	2:15	
			Col	1:6	
				2:8	
				2:20 Ms.	

Parallels to this world-view in the Jewish

literature are 4Ezra 7:50 (quoted above p 147);
7:47 "I see that the coming age.."
8:1 "The age to come"
8:52 "The future age"
7:31 "The age which is not yet awake and that which is corruptible shall perish"
Cf I Enoch 16:1
4Ezra 6:7 "When shall the End of the First Age and the beginning of the second be?"
6:20 "The Age is about to pass away".

4. Other references to the nature of the life hereafter as in II Corinthians 4:16 to 5:10 and Philippians 1:23-25 add little to the apocalyptical elements in Paul's Christology. That there is a changed attitude discernible in the later epistles in the matter of eschatology is doubtful: there is e.g., no waiting for the change - which in I Corinthians was to be "in the twinkling of an eye" here: "the building from God, a house not made with hands" to take the place of our earthly tabernacle "we have" (ἔχομεν) as if now waiting for us. Union with Christ seems to be thought of as taking place immediately: "I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart and be with Christ" (Phil 1:23). Paul speaks as if he might not live to see the end: "until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in"(Rom 11:25) "if by any means I may attain unto the resurrection from the dead" (Phil 3:11). But these very letters have also expressions of the same vivid hope: "The Lord is at hand"(Phil 4:5) But few years separate the earliest and the latest of Paul's letters, and the first come from a mature mind, mellowed by years of experience. Approaching, even present, - suffering and waning vitality may account for the slight change in emphasis. Certainly the apocalyptic Messianism of his earliest letters was not abandoned in his latest.

In Enoch 62 the Lord commands the mighty rulers of the earth to appear before the "Elect One" on the "throne of his glory";

"And they shall see and recognize

"Then shall pain come upon them...

"And they shall be terrified...,

"And the kings and the mighty ones and all who possess the earth shall bless and glorify and extol him

"And all the kings and the mighty and the exalted and those who rule the earth,

"Shall fall down before him on their faces and worship and set their hope on that Son of Man".

So, too, Paul thinks, even in thelast of his letters

"In the name of Jesus every knee shall bow

of things in heaven and things on earth and things under the earth,

And every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ

Is Lord to the glory of God the Father" (Philo 2:10).

5. The angel-world, part and parcel of the apocalyptic world-view, is prominent in Paul's thought:(See above p 309?). - the Jewish belief that angels take a lively interest in the affairs of men is reflected.

I Cor 4:9 "we are made a spectacle unto the world both to men and to angels".	Enoch 9:1 "Then Michael, Uriel, Raphael and Gabriel looked down from heaven and saw much blood being shed upon the earth .. and they said .. the earth cries the voice of their cryings up to the gates of heaven .. Bring our cause before the Most High".
Women are to wear a sign of 'authority' on their heads "because of the angels". (I Cor 11:10).	

- the attendants of the Messiah at the parousia are angels:

II Thess 1:7 "at the revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven with the angels of his power".

i Thess 3:13 "at the coming of the Lord Jesus with all his saints".

- even the archangel (I Thess 4:16: I Cor 15:52).

- "Though I speak with the tongues of men and angels", still there is something to be desired.

- The Law was "ordained" through "angels" (Gal 3:19).

(Cf Dt 33:2 LXX not Hebrew) ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ ἄγγελοι μετ' αὐτοῦ

Jos. Antiq 15:136 (5:3) † Dan 6; Jub 1:29; Heb 2:2 Acts 7: 38, 52 and Talmudic passages cited by Dibelius "Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus.") p 27

40/ See page 173, 202.

In Enoch 40:7 "I heard the fourth voice sending off the Satans forbidding them to come before the Lord of Spirits to accuse them that dwell upon the earth".

So with Paul: (Rom 8:38).
"Neither death nor life nor angels nor principalities nor things present nor things to come, nor powers nor height nor depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus".

"Wie immer die einzelnen Ausdrücke "Throne, Herrschaften, Gewalten, und Machte zu deuten sein mögen - sie bezeichnen samt und sanders heerschende Gewalten, und zwar denkt Paulus dabei nicht sowohl an die im Judentum gelehrte Herrschaft über die Volker, sondern an Herrschaft über den Kosmos". (Weiss, Johannes Das Urchristentum p 467)

"The god of this world" of II Cor 4:4 is almost certainly the Satan of II Cor 2:11 of whose devices "we are not ignorant! In the Testament of the Twelve (t Dan 6) is an interesting parallel: "Now fear the Lord, my children and beware of Satan and his spirits. Draw near unto God and unto the angel that intercedeth for you".

Satan has his "angels": one such brought Paul his "thorn in the flesh".(II Cor 12:7ff).

So it would seem that there are two classes of heavenly beings, those that bring good and those that bring evil. Ever against Satan and his hosts were God and his 'angels', and the pre-existent[40] heavenly Christ who had become the humble Jesus, had suffered death upon the cross, God had highly exalted and had given "unto him the name which is above every name, that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things on earth and things under the earth..."(Phil 2:1-9). In the end the good would triumph: "He (the Christ) shall have abolished all rule and all

40/ See page 173, 202.

authority and power" reigning "till he hath put all his enemies under his feet".

The question of Jewish antecedents in Paul's conception of the Messiah as of the 'angel host' is complicated by presence of Ghostic influence (e.g., the use of στοιχεῖα) and of astrology.[41]

41/ Cf. Bevan, E. Hellenism and Christianity p 81:

For us "the skies, as far as the utmost star, are clear of any malignant Intelligences, and even the untoward accidents of life are due to causes comfortably personal. We have never been frightened; there is the great difference. The possibility that the Unknown contains Powers deliberately hostile to him is one the ordinary man can hardly entertain, even in imagination - though why if it contains conscious beings of any sort, these should necessarily be friendly rather than hostile, it would perhaps be difficult to prove from the fragment of the Universe accessible to our senses. And till the Unknown has been realised as something terrible, till we have had the feeling of helplessness and ignorance in the face of an immense Universe, the feeling of a lost child in a huge strange city, we can hardly understand the mood which led men so eagerly to seek for "knowledge" and catch at anything which seemed to promise them light and safety".

5) It should further be observed that in Paul's ethic the eschatological motive does find place. It is not the only motive (see Weiss, J. Das Urchristentum page 438ff), but it has some prominence: Whoever would share in the Kingdom of God must have broken with the sins of the Gentiles (I Cor 6:10; Gal 5:21; Eph 5:5), for on their account comes "the wrath of God".(Col 3:6; Rom 1:18, 2:8f;) of I Cor 6:9ff .. "neither thieves nor covetous nor drunkards etc., ... shall inherit the Kingdom of God ... and such were some of you, but ye were washed .... sanctified .... justified .... in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ ...."

consists, would not require a divine act to raise Him from the dead".(Porter Religion and the Future Life ed Smith p 243(But after the word "Abba", Father, "Paul's ruling title for God might almost be said to be, He that raised up Jesus Christ from the dead." (Porter page 240)[42] That is to say - the pre-existence of the heavenly Messiah is an element which Paul has accepted without apparent question but which he does not use where one would most expect him to use the concept.

42/ I Thess 1:10 Gal 1:1 Rom 4:17 4:24 7:4 8:11 10:7 10:9 7:4 I Cor 6:14 15:15 2Cor 1:9 4:14 Col 2:12 2:20 1:18 3:5.

6. The pre-existence of Jesus seems to be one of the apocalyptic elements which Paul has taken over, but which did not function in his religion. (See above for the conception of pre-existence in the Jewish apocalyptic).

In I Cor 8:6 "One Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him". "In him were all things created ... all things have been created though him and unto him; and he is before all things, and in him all things consist". Col 1:16f Cf Phil 2:6 ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ "One who is in reality only the incarnation of the eternal divine Wisdom, the reason, or power, or spirit of God, through which the world was made and in and by which it consists, would not require a divine act to raise Him from the dead".(Porter Religion and the Future Life ed Sneath p 242(But after the word "Abba", Father, "Paul's ruling title for God might almost be said to be, He that raised up Jesus Christ from the dead." (Porter page 240)[42] That is to say - the pre-existence of the heavenly Messiah is an element which Paul has accepted without apparent question but which he does not use where one would most expect him to use the concept.

42/ I Thess 1:10 Gal 1:1 Rom 4:17 4:24 7:4 8:11 10:7 10:9 7:4 I Cor 6:14 15:15 2Cor 1:9 4:14 Col 2:12 2:20 1:18 3:3.

Such evident marks of the acceptance of the apocalyptic Messianism of the Jewish hope - together with other ideas from contemporary Jewish thinking in regard to the "Law" and the place of Israel in Yahweh's economy, to the 'evil heart' of man, and Adam's fall in which all are involved, and death as the wages of sin - have led some to maintain that the Jewish apocalyptic Messiah is the controlling factor in Paul's Christianity;[43] the more so since this 'genre' of literature has come to be known but recently.

43/ As Kabisch, R. Die Eschatologie des Paulus 1893.
Wrede, W. Paulus 1904
Schweitzer, A. Paul and His Interpreters 1912.
Morgan, W. The Religion and Theology of Paul 1917
"Paul's outlook is at bottom that of Jewish Apocalyptic" p 6 "Although apocalyptic constitutes the ground-plan of Paul's general scheme, it is far from providing him with all or even with the most characteristic categories of his thought."

That rabbinic Judaism, which was Paul's, and which blossomed into the rabbinism of the Talmud with the "Torah" central, - that rabbinic Judaism might be drawn into the eddy of Messianism is certainly possible; witness the whole-hearted support given Barcochba by R. Akihba. Did Paul give himself so whole-heartedly, likewise even unto death to Apocalyptic Messianism ?

There certain considerations which keep one from viewing the Apocalyptic as the central and controlling factor in Paul's interpretation of Christianity. He introduces conceptions alien to Apocalyptic Judaism, conceptions which were so unlike the Messianism of the contemporary Judaism that it would seem nearer the truth to regard them as primary and the apocalyptic as secondary. The incorporation of these into the Messiah portrait so that the Messiah portrait yields to them was Paul's revolutionary struggle on the Damascous Way.

What were the features of the new Messiah-portrait which may be considered controlling and to which many details of the Jewish apocalyptic as imagery have been added? They are facts from his own experience;- these are the"ground-plan" to which Jewish apocalyptic is accomodated, rather than vice versa; namely - the humble, earthly life of Jesus, now Messiah whom Paul has seen and come to love.

- the Death of this Messiah-to-Be.

and - that mystic communion thruugh Christ Crucified and Risen which becomes for Paul nothing less than a new revelation of the character of God. That is to say, - the fundamental thing in Paul's Christianity is not his heritage, not the traditions for which he was zealous, but his experience.

The New Messiah Portrait.

1. The earthly life of Jesus, "born of a woman"(Gal4:4)[44]

The inference is well nigh inescapable that Paul actually taught his hearers the story of that earthly life.

a) In his letters he speaks,- quite by accident,- of two events of that earthly life in detail,- the Last Supper and the Resurrection. Difficulties had arisen and in seeking solution Paul had recourse to the Life of Jesus which he had himself previously taught them. "That which I also delivered unto you" is the way he introduces the sketch which he hopes will refresh their minds, and then follows the narrative of the Lord's Supper (I Cor 11:23). "I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received"(I Cor 15:3) and reminds them that this is the "gospel" he had preached unto them (I Cor 15:1). Thereupon Paul mentions the death, burial, resurrection appearances of Jesus. The references in both these incidents from the life of Jesus are such as would have meaning only had they been previously been narrated. He would not preach the gospel over again from the beginning (I Cor 3:2).

44/ "Of the seed of David" may mean no more than that he had human parentage.

b) Similarly, though the occasion to rehearse the details did not present itself, Paul must have told of the Crucifixion: he says almost that much:- to the Galatian Churches "Jesus Christ was openly set forth crucified"(Gal 3:1). "They would not have crucified the Lord of glory", he says in I Cor 2:8. The Thessalonians had suffered persecution from their kinsfolk even as the Judean Church had of the Jews "who both killed the Lord Jesus and the prophets". From their encouragement Paul could in a few words call up that with which his preaching had made them familiar.(I Thess 2:15). He knew that the Corinthians had been told the time of Jesus' death, else "For our Passover also hath been sacrificed, even Christ" would have been un-intelligible.(I Cor 5:7). The humiliations and sufferings were matter for allusion: Had he told of the scourging? "I bear branded on my body the marks of Jesus" (Gal 6:17, Mk 15:15). "Joint-heirs with Christ if so be that we suffer with him" (Rom 8:17); "The fellowship of his suffering" (Phil 3:10); "The stumbling block of the Cross"(Gal 5:11); "The Cross of Christ"(Gal 6:12); "Glory, save in the Cross of Christ" (Gal 6:14). When Paul, was being criticised because they said he was 'weak', not forceful enough, his defense is a recollection of the trait in Jesus: "He was crucified through weakness".(2 Cor 13:4). "For we also are weak but we shall live in God's power with him unto you". "He humbled himself, becoming obedient even unto death, yea the death of the Cross." (Phil 2:8). Some are without that spirit "enemies of the cross of Christ". (Phil 3:18).

c) Traits in the character of Jesus which are reflected in the letters, show that Paul must have acquainted his hearers with Jesus' life, else would the allusions be meaningless: Sinlessness was to be mark of the heavenly Messiah (see above page); but that Paul should hint at the realization of this in one "in the likeness of the flesh of sin" (Rom 8:3)- he will not say 'in sinful flesh'- "in the likeness of the flesh of sin" in describing "Him who knew no sin" (2 Cor 5:21) would have little meaning to the Corinthians save on the background of that matchless life.

Made in the likeness of men he "humbled himself" (Phil 2:6). "The obedience of the One" (Rom 5:19). Christ pleased not himself" (Rom 15:3). In 2 Cor 10:1 Paul defends himself on the basis of the "meekness and sweet reasonableness" of Jesus' character. In 2 Cor 8:9 is the self-forgetfulness and generosity of One "who though he was rich ... yet forour sakes became poor".

Here is a new ideal, not hinted at in the masterful militaristic apocalyptic Messiah of the Jewish hope. He is the One that "loved us" (Rom 8:37) whom we ought in return to love (Eph 5:19, I Cor 6:22 I Cor 5:14).

"In seiner Mystik, die Schweitzer selbst als Christus-Mystik der Gottesmystik des Hellenismus entgegenstellt in der volligen Hingabe des ganzen Seins und Lebens empfinde ich eine Tiefe personlicher Liebe, die ich aus der bloszen Messiashoffnung und einem "Eschatologischen" Begriff psychologisch nicht recht verstehen kann".
Reitzenstein, p 25 1912 Zeitschrift für die N.T.Wissenschaft. vol xiii.

d) The impression which the story of the life of Jesus had made upon Paul was that here was a way of living worthy and capable of imitation. "Be ye imitators of me even as I also am of Christ" (I Cor 11:1). "We that are strong ought to bear the infirmitives of the weak", and the reason is that "Christ also pleased not himself". (Rom 15:1-3). In Philippians 2:1-11 Paul sets forth the "mind" of Christ Jesus as that which they should emulate: "Not looking each of you to his own things but each of you to the things of other" can only be Paul's summary of the motive actuating Jesus for they are to have that "mind" which was also in Christ Jesus"(Phil 2:5). In Colossians he mentions some of the things to be desired as a "heart of compassion, kindness, lowliness ... forgiving each other".."even as the Lord forgave you". Cf.Eph 4:31 "Be ye kind,.. even as God also in Christ forgave you."

e) Paul has so come into possession of the understanding of Jesus' teaching that he is not under any need to rely on quotation. It would seem that he might have quoted aptly and tellingly but he would not substitute a new legalism for the one he had found relief from in Jesus Christ. It always remains a possibility that Jesus' attitude to the ceremonial law had helped Paul in his emancipation therefrom and that this from Jesus' life he had told his churches and fears now that they had forgotten:e.g. Gal 4:10 "Ye observe days and months and seasons and years: I am afraid of you lest by any means I have bestowed my labour in vain". Cf.Col 2:16-"Let no man therefrom judge you in meat or in drink or in respect of a feast day or a new moon or a sabbath day".

f) Yet Paul does quote from the words of Jesus:

- in I Corinthians 7:10f he writes "Yea, not, I but the Lord that the wife depart not from her husband"-which is not unlike the attitude of Jesus as in Mark 10:2-12: but it does lack that dependence upon the very words of Jesus as in Luke and Matthew where Mark is followed.(Mt 19:2-9, Lk 16:18).

- in I Corinthians 9:14 "Even so did the Lord ordain that they that proclaim the Gospel should live of the Gospel": in the Synoptic Gospels the saying is in Luke 10:7 and Mt 10:10.

- In the Narrative about the Lord's Supper the words "He said" are used. "He said, This is my body which is for you".[45]

45/ Note the parallels where Luke shows dependence on Paul:

Mt 26:26	Mk 14:22	Lk 22:19
"This is my body"	"This is my body"	"This is my body which is given for you"
		"This do in remembrance of me"
.. ..		
"This is my blood of the covenant	"This is my blood of the covenant	"This cup is the new covenant in my blood"
		I Cor 11:24 "This is my body which is for you"
		"This do in remembrance of me".
		"This cup is the new covenant in my blood

Cf I Cor 10:16 where order is cup and bread - as in Lk.and Didache xii.

Jesus' summary of the Law Paul has made his own: it is Love. I Cor 13:13 "The greatest of these is love". Gal 5:14 "The whole Law is fulfilled in one word ... love". Rom 13:8 "Owe no man anything save to ... love". (Cf Rom 13:8;10). This is the same as Jesus' word: Mt 22:35-40, Mk 12:28-31, Lk 20:30 and 10:27 "Thou shalt love" from Leviticus xix 18.

In I Thess 4:15-17 is a saying reputed to be from Jesus but which is not in any other extant source. It is used by Paul as a "word of the Lord" to correct the apocalyptic conception that they who remain alive at the parousia have the greater blessedness.(See above page). The apocalyptic saying is from 4 Ezra 13:24 "Know therefore that those who survive (at that time) are more blessed than those that have died".(Cf Acts 20:35 where an otherwise unrecorded saying of Jesus is put into Paul's mouth; cf.also the Oxyr. Papyri).

"Know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump?" (I Cor 5:6; of Gal 5:9). "Know ye not οὐκ οἴδατε ("In questions that can be answered affirmatively..... οὐ is used with the Indicative to imply that an affirmative answer is expected" Burton, Moods and Tenses page 179 # 467) "Of course you know"; - have not I told you? is surely the implication and the words of Jesus come to mind Mt 15:33 and Lk 15:31.

"Recollections" of the words of Jesus in Paul are frequent:-

"All faith so as to remove mountains"- I Cor 13:2

Cf Mt 17:20 "If ye have faith -
" 21:21 --ye shall say unto this mountain"

"Wherein thou judgest another, - thou condemned thyself. Rom 2

Cf Mt 7:1 "Judge not that ye be not judged; - "Why beholdest thou the mate-"

"Render to every man according to his works"

Rom 2:6 "Render unto every man according to his deeds" Mt 16:27

(Go thru' Eph for these)

Paul regards the ability to call God "Abba" as the work of the Spirit, as though a miracle must have taken place; that 'filial' spirit in the Christian towards God is Christian. "As many as are led by the Spirit of God these are the sons". (Rom 8:14, Gal 4:6).[46] (Cf. Luke 15, also Luke's preference apparently for Paul's short "Abba" (from Jesus' Aramaic?) in 11:2.)

46/ "The God of Jesus is the God of the Jews about whom He says nothing that cannot be paralleled in Jewish literature". Jackson-Lake Beginnings of Christianity Vol I page 288 Cf Note above page 119.

Cf Herford, R. Travers Pharisaism page 118.

The statement in Beginnings is not quite correct. The Jews themselves pride themselves in the fact that in all their literature there is nothing which corresponds to the notion in the Lord's prayer - "as we forgive our debtors". See Abrahams, I. Studies in Pharisaism, a companion volume to Montefiore's 2 vol Synoptic study. Such a collection as in the Lord's Prayer did not exist and this clause in Prayer to God is not Jewish. Crucial against the position in Jackson Lake is the statement in Paul.

g) There are several expressions in Paul which bring vividly to mind the words of Jesus as in the Gospels and the form suggests that the substance of the words had been communicated by Paul in his ministry.

1 - "to inherit the Kingdom of God" is one such: it is not characteristic in Paul's thinking and seems to imply a background of Jesus' teaching.

Gal 5:21 Speaking of unrighteous things "I forewarn you even as I did forewarn you (προείπον), that they who practise such things shall not inherit the Kingdom of God". This expression "inherit the Kingdom" is in Mt 25:34 and in the Synoptics only here. It may be that this is more nearly the form used by Jesus. "Kingdom of God" in Paul means "rule" and to "inherit" that is to enter upon one's part in the rule. In Paul saints are to 'judge'.(Not withstanding Solomon, Words of Jesus). Eph 5:5 "Ye know of a surety"- i.e., this is no new thing - no unrighteous person "hath any inheritance in the Kingdom of Christ and God".

I Cor 6:9 "Know ye not (οὐκ οἴδατε) that the unrighteous shall not inherit the Kingdom of God"?

I Cor 15:50 "This I say that flesh andblood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God" i.e., the Kingdom is not of the nature of flesh and blood, but is spiritual.

3 - In Romans 12 are many allied sayings of a hortatory nature which breaths of the very spirit of Jesus: "Let love be without hypocrisy"..."Patient in tribulation"... "bless them that persecute you"..."render to no man evil for evil" "be not overcome of evil". These suggest "Resist not him that is evil" of Mt 5:39. (Cf I Thess 5:15 and I Peter 3:9).

5 - In Romans 14 is set forth Paul's conception of brotherly love, in the matter of eating and drinking. "Nothing is unclean of itself". (Cf Mk 7:19 "making all meats clean") "Why" Paul says it is not in such matters as eating and drinking that Christians are to show their royal freedom, it is not there they are to reign: "The kingdom of God is not eating and drinking but righteousness, etc". Rom 14:17

"One will misunderstand Paul if he regards his vision as the explanation of his Christianity apart from his knowledge of the earthly Jesus or apart from his experience that the mind of Jesus was constantly and more and more filling his nature, displacing his old self and forming itself within him". Porter p 233 Future Life ed Sneath.

"Was ist noch der Unterschied zwischen der jüdischen Christusvorstellung und der christlichen? Der ganze grosse Unterschied, dass der jüdische Christus eine bloss eschatologische Figur ist ... ... Dem suchenden, seufzenden ringenden Gemüt in der Gegenwart bietet er nichts, oder im besten Fall nur eine Aussicht auf künftige Hilfe, für die teifen innerlichen Probleme, wie sie der einzelne Fromme im Augenblick in seinem Innern findet, ist von ihm keine Antwort zu holen". (Volz p Jüdische Eschatologie p 231).

THE NEW MESSIAH-PORTRAIT (Cont'd).

2. The Death of Jesus.

As the conception of the earthly life and teaching of Jesus is a startlingly new addition to the Messiah-Portrait of Paul's inheritance, - so too the natural corollary of that earthly life, - namely the death is alien to the Messianic hope of Judaism. The only passage where the Messiah of the Apocalyptic dies is that in 4 Ezra 7(supra p 349f). The popular expectation was in the other direction,- witness Peter's attitude in the Marcan account of the Caesarean-Phillipi incident Mk 8:31-33, and the σκάνδαλον of Gal 4:11 and I Cor 1:23. Manifestly the death of Jesus presented a difficulty to Paul as soon as or before he had yielded himself in devotion to Jesus Christ. The Messianic interpretation of the Servant Songs of Isaiah is a Christian development.(See Dalmann, G.Der leidende und der sterbende Messias: and Volz, P Judische Eschatologie p 237).

When Paul was won to allegiance to Jesus Christ, the death, ---------- which was the normal issue of that life, became a kind of 'pièce de resistance' in his theology: that the Christ should have died, and by crucifixion, - needed apology. But the fact could not be escaped. The death of Christ enters vitally into Paul's theology because of that necessary apologetic.

In a half-mythological, pictorial way Paul interprets the death of Jesus Christ as the "crux" in that salvation which is his in Jesus Christ: e.g., Paul found salvation from the "Law" in Jesus, - so he speaks of Jesus becoming subject to the "Law" that He might abolish the "Law":Gal 4:4 'he was obedient even unto death'. He became 'Flesh' to abolish the 'Flesh'; to abolish Sin he became Sin:2 Cor 5:21 to abolish Death he became subject to Death; in all the Death is the point in which his subjection to these goes to the full - and He rose again, Victor.

Paul has no hesitation in using language which definitely shows that Christianity is not behind those cults of the Hellenistic world which were offering mystical union with the deity who in death and resurrection assured to their devotees a like happy issue of the tragedy of life: "You who had Jesus Christ the crucified placarded before your very eyes". But the fact of the death of Jesus is the starting point for the idea.

There are some passages which might be read to mean that the death of Jesus was the passive sacrifice, in which God had offered up his Son.(Gal 4:4;Rom 8:32 Cf 2 Cor 5:21 "God sent forth His son" - "The God who did not spare his own Son".
2 Cor 5:21 "For our sakes He made him to be sin"
But other expressions quite upset such forensic interpretation (Gal 1:4 "Who gave Himself"; Gal 2:20 "Gave Himself up for me" Cf 2 Cor 8:9 "For you know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ" Phil 2:6f.2 Cor 10:1 "The meekness and 'sweet reasonableness' of Christ"). It is the very completeness with which Jesus had given himself to the 'new ideal' of humility and

love, so unmessianic in the popular sense that makes the death the issue of that life. See below p 179

"Woher stammt diese Korrektur des vulgaren Messiansbildes, woher diese Umwertung jüdischer Herrlichkeits-Träume ? Etwa aus den Stimmungen griechischer Mysterienkulte ? Man zeige in ihren Mythen diesen Zug der selbstverleugnenden Hingabe, des Opfers dienender Liebe. Er fehlt dort ebenso, wie im Judentum. Diejenigen, welche meinen, Paulus sei vom Wesen der Personlichkeit Jesu vollig unberuhrt geblieben, sind geneigt anzunehmen, hier liege ein verstandesmasztger Ruchschlusz vor aus der nun einmal feststehenden Tatsache des Messias-Todes. Dieser müsse doch einen Zweck gehabt haben, wobei des Opferoder Sühnetodes sich leicht einstellte;,und dieser wieder war dann leicht zu beseelen durch den angenommenen Gedanken, Jesus habe sich freiwillig zu diesem Zweck geopfert .... Was kann ihn dazu bewogen haben wenn nicht Liebe und Erbarmen?"

Weiss Das Urchristentum p 345

3. The Resurrection of Jesus.

It is the resurrection of Jesus that has assured Paul that he was wrong in his persecution of the Christians; it is the resurrection which demonstrated that Jesus is indeed the Messiah: ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν Romans 1:4. It is the resurrection which Paul himself has witnessed. He has seen Him. It is not the Messiah of his Jewish expectation who has at last become a reality but the Messiah whom I am trying to describe.

It was the Jesus whose un-messianic life of humility and love the proud Pharisee Paul had hated whom Paul saw alive after his cruel death and his burial. And it was just because of this life of humility and love that God had raised Him from the dead. (Phil 2:9). διὸ καί

Gal 1:12
1:15

I Cor 9:1

2 Cor 4:6

1 Cor 15:8

That Paul applied much of the Jewish apocalyptic to Jesus Risen is clear (see above). But the resurrection of Jesus was to Paul a fact of his own observation, and he regarded it as an eschatological event, and the first such event: Jesus is now the ἀπαρχή (I Cor 15:20)
ἀπαρχή (I Cor 15:23)
Paul thus regards last things as having already begun. "The new age has dawned and its powers were present and were experienced; Paul found himself a new being in a new world, and yet all things outwardly remained as they were. The other world must therefore be within andnot beyond. A spiritualizing of the apocalyptic hope would be necessarily involved in the conviction that the new age was in a real sense present; and it would seem that nothing could be clearer than that in Paul apocalyptic conceptions have been in principle, whether more or less consciously, spiritualized." [48]

48/ Porter, Professor F.C. Journal of Biblical Literature Vol xli 1922 page 184.

The resurrection experience in which Paul had shared had changed the outlook of Paul, ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ καινὴ κτίσις· τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονεν καινά. II Cor 5:17

Central in his Christianity is not the apocalyptic(Schweitzer) nor the vision of the heavenly being (Wrede), but the Jesus of Galilee now risen from the dead. The new age has already dawned. Of course to such as Paul who thus spoke of things which he had himself experienced with a certainty that nothing could shake, the apocalyptic of his earlier hope would have place but that too suffered change in the awakening. Now spirit dominates over flesh, love and humility as in the historical Jesus become the actuating principles of his life, and the selfishness and the intellectual pride of the Pharisee are gone. Paul took over from the primitive group the expectation of the parousia but it is the 'parousia' that had taken place that vitally mattered with Paul; the apocalyptic interprets the life and death and resurrection of Jesus, but what is central is Jesus.

Paul makes little use of the more distinctively apocalyptic parts of the Old Testament. "Considering the frequency of Paul's references to the parousia and the closeness of the connection of this expectation in the Gospels of Daniel 7:13 and the name "Son of Man", the absence of the title in Paul's letters and his complete indifference to the Book of Daniel are surely significant" (Porter page 138). Even Enoch, Prof. Porter has shown, made little appeal to Paul, judging by its influence in his letters. What did appeal to Paul in his

larger Old Testament canon were the Pentateuch, Isaiah, and the Psalms.

His own vision experience in II Corinthians 12, told with wonderful reserve, does not become for him the source for his message; though it was an age when apocalyptic revelations were prized, Paul disparages the experience: οἶδα ἄνθρωπον ἐν Χριστῷ

Paul uses the apocalyptic concept of two worlds. But because of the resurrection of Jesus he knows the new age has already dawned and from his experience of the indwelling Christ, the older phraseology of the apocalyptic hope is used for the more spiritualized conception of the two ages. It is the duty of the Christian to have his home in the heavenly world, that is where our citizenship is. Christians are to "aim at what is above, where Christ is, seated at the right hand of God" (Col 3:1) and the things detailed are abstinence from vice, impurity, appetite, evil desire, lust, anger, rage, slander, foul talk, lying, and the exercise of compassion, kindliness, humility, gentleness and good temper, forbearing and forgiving each other, - and above all love.(Col 1:2-13). This is the nature of the 'other world' to Paul,- and an achievement in the exhibition of the character which Jesus Christ had attained; for the Christian's life is there already "for ye died and your life is hid with Christ in God".(Col 3:3). "This then is the nature of the other world in Paul's other worldliness; it is above and can be seen in vision, but it is within and must be gained by moral effort."(Porter p 192f)"Paul does not look away in order to see Christ, but within". p 194.

Paul can still speak kindly of this world's rulers: "The existing authorities have been constituted of God" (Rom 13:1) and rulers are not a fear save to wrong doers. (Cf Acts 19:31). Yet Christians ought not to find it necessary to go to the pagan Law-Courts: the divisive spirit at Corinth is (I Cor 6:1ff) under judgment quite as are the "wicked" jurors. (Cf I Thess 4:12 and I Cor 10:32 where Christians are to conduct themselves becomingly to the outside world). The attitude of 2 Thessalonians 2:7 that the "restraining" influence or "one" will shortly be removed is not consonant with Paul's attitude of respect for Rome elsewhere expressed. Something of a loyal provincial's idealization of Empire and its capital is in Paul's "not ashamed to preach the Gospel to you in Rome"(Rom 1:15f). This attitude is quite unlike that of the Book of Revelation which is the attitude of apocalypses in general: Daniel would welcome the destruction of Antiochus Epiphanes and of the Greek Empire; Ezra and Baruch look forward to the Fall of the Roman Empire. But Paul's hope does not so express itself. One would never gather from Paul's Letters that the Coming of the Christ meant the political domination of his nation or the downfall of another.

The apocalpytic details of the 'coming of the Christ' and the trump and the shout as in Thessalonians are not central with Paul. That then Christians would be with Christ Paul believed from his knowledge of the indwelling Christ and death would not break that relationship. The rest is periphery. How far Paul is from the apocalyptists can be judged by a reading

of Enoch and I Corinthians; Paul's letter throbs with contact with life, - Enoch seems so removed from things mundane that there is ever present an element of unreality which is increased by pseudepigraphic authorship; but Paul is in his letters as few are.

At one or two points Paul's eschatological passages suggest his own reflection and not the mere acceptance of the 'apocalyptic tradition' he had received:

- his conception of the risen body is in part a break with the tradition (Jewish); but that the personality will be preserved he thinks of a 'Spiritual' Body, - not of 'flesh and blood'. This seems to be a concession to the Greek view that immortality is not dependent upon the resuscitation of the body. Paul takes a middle course. (I Cor 15)

- there will, in Paul's speculation, be a completion of that transformation even of our bodies which has a beginning now. This is part of the change which will come upon all nature. (Rom 8:18-25). That will be a 'new earth' for 'new creatures'- in Christ Jesus. That "means our full sonship"(Rom 8:23). We can now call God "Abba, Father": but we have something still to hope for. - This is quite unlike the traditional apocalyptic.

- Paul also looks forward to the time when the Gentiles shall have come in and even his own people,- whose were the promises (9:4) with them will complete the subjection of humanity to Christ.

The doctrine of the future life which has been from the time of Paul, at least - vital in the Christian group - whereas among the contemporary Jews there seems to have been some division of opinion, - is in Paul closely dependent upon the resurrection experience:(I Cor 15:12-20). According to the New Testament statements the Sadducees were not believers in the resurrection of the dead; and Josephus supports this characterization of that Jewish sect.(Antiq 18:1: 2-4; B.J.2:8:14.) The Pharisees on the contrary, had these as tenets of their faith.

These three features in Paul's Christianity, namely the Life of Jesus, the Death, and the Resurrection are quite foreign to the Apocalyptic of Paul's Jewish inheritance. But it is that life of which these are but three aspects that made the revolutionary change in Paul.

It is the impact of the human life of Jesus - exemplifying even unto death the life of love and humility to which Paul's being gave assent that this is the true life, not Pharisaism, not apocalypticism, not the mysteries, which most accounts for the new Messiah portrait which Paul has left. It was Jesus * who had walked with his feet so firmly upon this earth, who knew children as they are, that they do sometimes sulk, who viewed human relations as they are, - and not with blind idealism, but certain that brothers do quarrel over the inheritance and do strive for the best places, who knew so well "what was in man" and who notwithstanding put forth the ideal of love and humility, it is this Jesus who is central in Paul's Christianity. There are historical relations in Paul's Christianity with the surrounding life but there is also something not elsewhere.

The most creative thing in the words of Jesus is the expression which he gives to the ideal which his own life exemplified, the ideal which seems such a reversal of human judgments.

- "Blessed are the poor in spirit for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven" - that poverty of spirit which lifts one into the realization of the other world, to such rulership belongs.

- "Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God."

- "Resist not evil", which Judaism has not.
- "Love your enemies that ye may be sons of your Father"
So challenging are these that some have sought to tone them down by seeing the principle of self-abnegation and love, an 'interim-ehtic', a motivation for conduct during the short interval before the 'parousia'.

- "Forgive us as we forgive".(See I Abrahams)Not in Judaism.

- "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you do ye even so to them". Rabbinic Judaism has this in the negative form which Jewish teachers regard as a better form for it is not beyond realization. IS rather the suggestion of a sympathetic attitude.

- "None is good save One".
i.e., goodness, - even Jesus recognized, - is high

- "Lay not up treasures."
"Be not anxious saying what shall we eat".
"Ye cannot serve God and Mammon."
"Seek first...and these shall be added," i.e., the ethical demands of Jesus were not made in any ascetic desire to be other worldly; all is God's so we can be free from care.

- "Of such - as little children - are the Kingdom" not of the proud Pharisees.

- "Whosoever would be first let him be servant."

- "Let him deny himself," if any would come after Him".

These hard sayings, so contrary to the normal human values, do not seem to have been too hard for Jesus; love and humility he thought not for him alone, too. And this very thing is in Paul in such measure that is hard to parallel anywhere else. He never leaves any doubt as to the source of it all:he had learned it from JEsus as he would

have others learn it from him.

An illustration or two will suffice to show how under the domination of the ideal of Jesus' life Paul was, even in those passages where he seems most to set forth with vehemence his right:

In I Cor 9 and 10 Paul is setting forth his answer to the query of Chapter 8 in regard to the freedom which CHristians have in the matter of eating; some had said that he was no apostle just because he had taken no support but had earned with his own hands his living: to these his reply is

- "Though I was free, I brought myself under bondage to all"
- "I have not vailed myself of any of these rights and I am not writing in order to secure any such provision for myself I would sooner die than let anyone deprive me of this my source of pride." μὴ ζητῶν τὸ ἐμαυτοῦ
- - σύμφορον ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν
ἵνα σωθῶσιν.

And he concludes the section - in W.H.'s text μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε, καθὼς κἀγὼ Χριστοῦ. This was not the way of religion in which Paul had been trained, where religion was 'to be learned' and not as here through a personality; and that was Jesus' way.

He realizes that the motive which actuates him is not the one usually prized - gnosis or logos or sophia - but to the wise this humility, self-renunciation and love are 'simple'(I Cor 1) Cf "I thank thee, O Father, ... thou didst hide these things from the wise ... and didst reveal them unto babes" (Mt 11:25 :: Lk 10:21). Rabbinical Judaism was intellectual; Paul knew the pride of those who knew the 'traditions'. The danger of turning Christianity into a philosophy Paul saw and wrote that that divisive spirit manifest in Corinth was not after Christ's heart; wisdom is no more a way of true living than legalism is.

So throughout the Letter Paul sets forth the ideal of Jesus as he conceives it working in the very real situation at Corinth.(Cf Ch 4 especially 10 to 21).

2 Cor 4:7-11 "Every day of my life I am being given over to death for Jesus' sake",- a dying to live.

Where Paul lists the 'fruit' of the spirit (Gal 5:22; Eph 4:17 5:13; Col 3:12- the graces are not those of the ethical writers but 'love, joy, peace, long suffering, goodness, faithfulness, kindness, goodness, meekness, self-control'. "If we live by the spirit, by the Spirit let us walk", i.e., it is not to be left all to God, Man is to walk by the Spirit by which he lives. (Gal 5:26).

The virtues in Colossians 3:12f are a portrayal of JEsus' life: no one else had made this life of humility and love real. ταπεινός in Aristotle is the virtue of the slave, not of the free man; Jesus had reversed that judgment.

Paul moreover makes tremendous affirmations as to the change which has been wrought in himself; Gal 2:20

ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ.
ζῇ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός

It was not Paul's own achievement; he is what he is by the Spirit. Even his boasting is that Jesus Christ may have the true place in men's lives; in his boasting he has a humility like that of Jesus "for I am meek and lowly in heart" (Mt 11:30). Cf II Cor 10-13 where Paul is defending himself against the charge that he is 'weak'; he begins by reminding the Corinthians of the "meekness or gentleness and sweet reasonableness of the Christ".

All in all Paul's letters in their disclosure of the personality of the writer show that Paul was an interpretation of the Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels. There are 'old things' in Paul, from his rich inheritance of Judaism and the Gentile environment, but there is also this that has no parallel save in Jesus.

4. One further general consideration is of weight in keeping one from viewing the Apocalyptic as basal in Paul's Christianity; Paul received from the Primitive Church,- which before he had entered was a worshipping community - two rites which betray no relation to the Apocalyptic hope of Judaism - the rite of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

i - Baptism. Paul himself was baptised: "all we .. baptised" (Rom 6:3). The origin of this initiatory rite (I Cor 12:13) is obscure; it may have been the contribution of John the Baptist to the religious life of the Primitive

Church; Jesus was himself so baptised but that he enjoined it is doubtful. A washing as in baptism was in practice among the Jews.[49] But there is no doubt of its intimate relation in Paul's thinking with Jesus; it was baptism in or into the name of Jesus (I Cor 11:12ff, 6:11, Rom 6:3)[50] So significant had this rite become even in Paul's day that some were being baptised for their dead (I Cor 15:29), and Paul gives thanks that he baptised so few in Corinth so torn by factions.

Its connection with Christian Messianism seems certain from the references to the rite in the Synoptics' account of John's baptism: that was to spare the recipients from "the wrath to come". (Mt 3:7 Lk 3:7).

49/ Brandt, Die Jüdische Baptismen etc.(Giessen 1910) Oesterley and Box Religion and Worship of the Synagogue 1907 pp 255-64.

50/ Of the following references to baptism in Paul: Rom 6:3, 6:4. I Cor 1:17, 1:12ff, 1:16, 10:2 (Moses) 12:13, 15:29, Gal 3:27, Eph 4:5, Col 2:12.

ii The Lord's Supper

The Last Supper is likewise intimately bound up with the earthly life of Jesus. The last happenings are always a reminder; the Last Supper was a memorial ofhis quitting this life. The daily things of life,- right at hand, - the bread and the cup on the table before them all were to keep their memory of him fresh. If the farewell had been taken in the grain-field they would have had him in memory by his words "Except a grain of wheat fall and die .. " Or in the vineyard it would have been "Every branch that abideth not in the vine ..." But it was at table and the bread and the wine of the meal were to be for the memorial. He asked them to ever remember him. Thus from this grew the sacrament.[51]

One detail recalls the apocalyptic: "The Lord's death till He Come" (I Cor 11:26). The future Messianic Banquet was one of the regular features of the Apocalypses.

The life, character and teaching of Jesus, the death, the resurrection, and the sacraments, - all so intimately bound up with the historic Jesus and having no place in the contemporary Judaism of Paul's inheritance are factors which keep one from thinking that the apocalyptic is the ground-work of Paul's Christianity. Basal is not his inherited Judaism nor Hellenism but his Christian experience of the new revelation of the nature of God and of men which Paul had in Jesus, and which in Jesus had made him a new creation.

51/ See I Cor 10:21; 11:20; 11:26; 11:29.

5. The activities of the new Christian group were such as to call to mind an Old Testament messianic passage, Joel 2: 28ff. The Messiah himself in Jewish thinking was to possess unique spiritual endowment(Isaiah 11:2; 42:1; 61:1ff). The apocalyptic Messiah has the spirit of righteousness poured out over him (Enoch 62:2, 49:1-4; Pss Sol 17:42; 18:8; t Levi 18). So too his subjects were to be similarly blessed(Joel 2:28ff; Zech 12:10; t Juda 24). Paul met such 'charismata' in the Corinthian Church and said that he shared in them too: "Spirit" or "Holy Spirit" or "Spirit of Christ" or "Spirit of God" was a most frequent characterisation of the New Life.

The Old Testament had developed the conception of Yahweh's power operating in human life under the term רוּחַ [52]. This common word for 'wind' had been taken over by the Hebrews to express God's presence in human life and the abnormal - as "physical strength, courage, prophetic frenzy, a prophetic message", [53] was explained as the "Spirit of God". The Hebrew avoided the pantheism to which the Stoic conception of πνεῦμα as a physical or metaphysical essence had led and at the same time gave expression to the fact of the indwelling presence of Yahweh. The Hebrew and the Greek (Stoic) conceptions unite in the description of Σοφία in the Hellenistic 'Wisdom of Solomon'; ethical (Hebrew) and physical (Greek) qualities are ascribed to 'wisdom' with no attempt at adjustment.

52/Burton, E.D., Spirit, Soul, and Flesh, especially pp 156ff. For the use of 'spirit' in the magical papyri pp 175ff. "The existing evidence fall short of establishing more than the possibility of it (the influence of the magical papyri usage upon the N.T.), and it must for the present remain more probable that the development of which the Pauline writings give evidence has its chief basis in the Old Testament literature and its chief impulse in the Christian movement". Decisive in this direction is the subjection of the O.T. conception of the life of Yahweh in the believer as expressing itself in the miraculous to the life of Jesus as below p .

53/Burton p 56.

The conception of 'Spirit' was immediately present to Paul in Judaism, in explanation of the unusual, and the miraculous. The old nature displaced by the new was manifesting itself in various 'charismata' of the 'Spirit'. Paul identified the 'spirit' now operative as the 'Lord': ὁ δὲ Κύριος τὸ πνεῦμα ἐστιν (II Cor 3:17). It approaches the logos conception of the Fourth Gospel that in Jesus the Spirit of Yahweh was functionally present. The unusual was manifest in the early Christians. Paul discusses these manifestations in the section of the First Corinthian Letter περὶ τῶν πνευματικῶν (I Cor 12:14,) all are manifestations of the same spirit, there should be no rivalry. Paul would bring to these manifestations of the Divine in human life the test of the spirit of Jesus;- the development of the 'charismata' was tending to self-assertion, disorder and jealousy. Paul subjects the Hebrew conception of 'Spirit' -- the miraculous -- to the love and humility of Jesus: "Now to each is given his manifestation of the Spirit πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον " - 'for the common good' (Moffatt).12:7. In the very heart of his discussion he sets forth the example of Jesus (I Cor 13) and concludes with citing him as the authority for this touchstone for life: ἃ γράφω ὑμῖν ὅτι κυρίου ἐστὶν ἐντολή.

As Paul subjected the apocalyptic Messianism to the love and humility of Jesus, so has he done with the Hebrew notion of the divine in life, i.e., the conception of 'Spirit'; and 'in the Spirit' and 'pneumatikos' are completely so subjected to the life of Jesus in the phrase "in Christ". One "in Christ" "ecstatic" - beside himself, but is "in the Spirit" in the

sense that Jesus now dominates his life; he has lost himself in the sense that now he does not seek his own. In Paul "in Christ" is a substitute for "in the Spirit" or "spiritual"; the phrase has lost its magical connotation in the life of humility and love of Jesus' life. (Cf. Phil 3:21).

But all,- the life, the death, the resurrection, the sacraments and the activities of the new community, - all these 'facts' of that deep religious life in Jesus which apocalyptic Judaism was unable to encompass are enriched by the aspirations and achievements of another culture to which Paul was in large part 'debtor', namely Hellenism. The new ideal of love and humility incarnate in Jesus had displaced all else with Paul. Jewish Messianism, and chiefly apocalyptic Messianism, helped Paul give expression to that new life; but the expression from that source was very imperfect and incomplete, and on some points it helped not at all. And here in Paul often only the beginning of the direction which the development was to take can be discerned.

It was, naturally, just at those points where Apocalyptic Messianism had failed to give any or adequate expression to the Christian experience that Hellenism was laid under contribution - the more convincingly to set forth Paul's new life in Christ.

6 HELLENIZATION of CHRISTIAN MESSIANISM

PAUL

1. The Life of Jesus

Monotheism has difficulties.[54] The Messiah-Figure of apocalyptic Judaism was not sufficient to enclose the Jesus of Paul's redemption; there was no place in it for One, "born of woman"(Gal 4:4) "in likeness of flesh of sin" (Rom 8:3). Yet Paul, of strict Jewish upbringing and prejudices, has yielded himself "slave" to this Jesus;(Rom 1:1) He is Χριστός ; to Him Paul prays (II Cor 12:8); Him he loves (I Cor 2:9; 16:22; Rom 8:35; II Cor 5:14; Eph 2:4 etc). Him he classes with Yahweh ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ (Phil 2:6), often using the same expression for what God and what Christ has done (I Cor 15:10 & 2 COr 12:9; Rom 15:15f & Rom 5:11, Gal 1:15 & 1:6f; -- Rom 8:39 & Rom 8:35; I Thess 1:4 & Gal 2:20; Rom 8:37, Eph 2:4 & 5:25;-- 2 Cor 4:7 & 12:9; Phil 3:10; 2 Cor 4:10f;)--Rom 7:4; Gal 2:19 & 2 Cor 5:15; Gal 2:20;-- Rom 6:22; I Peter 2:16 & 1:1; 1 Cor 7:22; Gal 1:10). Jesus to Paul is Kurios,and often the term is so used that it can not be said with certainty whether Yahweh or Jesus is meant. (I Cor 16:22) (Rom 14:8-9 where in v 6 the word Kurios is without article - God, and in 8 with article - Christ.). Sometimes that most intimate relationship is oddly expressed as in Rom 8:9 "...if God's spirit dwells in you. But if any one has not the spirit of Christ.." Rom 8:39"..Is able to part you from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord", II Cor 5:19 "God was reconciling in Christ the world to Himself."

[4] "The distinctive feature of the Jewish religion is not, as is often supposed, its monotheism. Hebrew religion in its golden age was monolatry rather than monotheism; and when Yahweh became more strictly 'the only God', the cult of intermediate beings came in and restored a quasi-polytheism. The distinctive feature in Jewish faith is its historical and teleological character".

W.R.Inge, Outspoken Essays p 215

Again in I Cor 6:11 is another combination "but ye were justified in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God", and in Rom 5:11 the relation is most close "In God through our Lord Jesus Christ". Even the death of Jesus is either God's offering or the self-sacrifice of Jesus (Rom 8:32 and Gal 2:20).

It is true that Paul's prayer to the Lord was for help in that particular difficulty where the Messiah was to bring aid,- namely against Satan's messenger (II Cor 12:8 Enoch 40:7 and I Cor 15:24). But the Messiah was not on an equality with God in the Apocalypses. And in Paul "we are face to face with a fully developed Christ worship. Christ has gathered to Himself the functions of Deity and become an object of religious homage" (Morgan p 45).

A prayer to God is also addressed to Jesus Christ: "May our very God and Father and our Lord Jesus direct our way to you" (I Thess 3:11). Sometimes Paul speaks as if the Lord alone directed the way of men: "I will come unto you shortly if the Lord will" (ἐὰν ὁ κύριος θελήσῃ) I Cor 4:19 Cf I Cor 16:7; I Thess 3:11. His ministry of reconciliation Paul has from Christ (2 Cor 5:18) or from God (Gal 1:16) or from both Gal 1:1 ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ πατρός He prays that Jesus Christ may be glorified in Christians, for to him every knee shall bow (Rom 10:12, Phil 2:10). And the very Yahweh passage of the Old Testament is directly applied to Jesus to bid believers 'call upon' the name of the Lord for salvation (I Cor 1:2 Rom 10:12ff). The rites centre in Jesus Christ.

It is not too much to say that in Christ Jesus Paul saw God (2 Cor 4:6). He named him as Yahweh was called in his Greek Bible Κύριος . (See further under next section "Death of Jesus" for significance of this title).

Paul's practice seems to have been at variance with his definitely expressed theological view; face to face with the problem of Jesus' relation to Yahweh he declares himself a strict monotheist:

- He nowhere calls Jesus, God; Rom 9:5 can be punctuated to mean that the Christ as to flesh is God, but the passage is not different from Paul elsewhere when punctuated as in W.H. - There is only one God ὅτι οὐδεὶς θεὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς (I Cor 8:4; Cf I Cor 8:6 "One God the Father, and One Lord Jesus Christ"; Col 1:3 "Father of our Lord Jesus Christ"; I Thess 1:9 "Ye turned to God .. to await his Son .. whom he raised from the dead").

- Even where he seems to say that Jesus had before existed in the very form of deity Paul is thinking more of the possibility of his striking for equality as Lucifer had, and concludes the passage with the words "to the glory of God Father" (Phil 2:11).[55]

- Several expressions enforce this subordination of Jesus Christ under the form of sonship: "Rom 15:5 the God and Father ofour Lord Jesus Christ", cf. 2 Cor 1:3 Col 1:3.

- The supreme place of God is directly set forth in the picture of what is to come "Then shall the Son also be subjected to Him ... that God may be all in all," as though the Christ's place lay in the salvation which He was bringing".(I Cor 15: 28; 2 Cor 5:18).

55/ Weiss, J., Das Urchristentum p 379f

- Paul has in his thought-world 'angels' as Judaism had (see above p ~~309f~~ 267 and pp ~~558ff~~ 1747ff) but Christ is over all (Phil 2:11f; Col 1:16; 2:10; Eph 1:10; 1:21).[56]

Manifestly Paul subordinates Jesus Christ to God; yet He has divine functions. And Paul is moving in the direction of the logos solution of the dilemma: "To us one God the Father from whom (ἐξ οὗ) all things .. and one Lord Jesus Christ through whom (δι' οὗ) all things are." I Cor 8:6. So too Col 1:15-18: "Who is a very image of the invisible God, prototype of all created things, since by Him all was created, heavenly and earthly, things visible and invisible ... all things through him and for him were created: 78); and Paul will brook no actual subordination of Jesus by the Colossians: ἐν αὐτῷ εὐδόκησεν πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα κατοικῆσαι. Of Col 2:9 it is the earthly even here, - witness σωματικῶς 'in a body'; ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς

56/ "Der Grund fur diese Uneinheitlichkeit des paulinischen Systems liegt freilich geschichtlich sehr viel weiter zurück: im judischen Messiasglauben". Weiss Das Urchristentum p 366.

and he is before all created things and in him all find their fulfilment...since in him the pleroma, the complete Fullness, willed to settle". Some Christians who would go beyond Paul in that speculative subordination of Jesus, - which is in Paul himself, - are being recalled to the pre-eminent (Col 1:18 πρωτεύων) Christ; "their interest was to some extent directed to the questions, "What is the world, and how has it come to be?" apart from the individual concern for salvation. And then we get the picture of the Upper World (the pleroma) filled in with a plurality of divine beings .. schemes of successive emanations more and more complicated;" (Bevan, E. Hellenism and Christianity p 79); and Paul will brook no actual subordination of Jesus by the Colossians:- ἐν αὐτῷ εὐδόκησεν πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα κατοικῆσαι Cf Col 2:9). It is the earthly life of Jesus - not Greek speculation - that is dominant, even here, - witness σωματικῶς 'in a body': ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς...fellowship of the Holy Spirit"), - are in reality examples of Hebraisms, parallelisms, in which the same thought is enforced by variety in repetition.

Hellenization in Paul (Cont'd).

F. Paul seems conscious of the dilemma but his experience permits him to set the two things - devotion to Yahweh and devotion to the Lord Jesus Christ, - side by side as not incompatible. It was just at this point of the earthly life of Jesus that Apocalypticism failed. And at this point Hellenism contributed. But there is only the direction which that Hellenization was to take - in Paul. Paul does not sublimate Jesus Christ into a hypostasis in the divine substance. That remained for the Greek theologians.

This dilemma would not occasion the disturbance in the mind of a Jew that one might think: monotheism was not so characteristic of Judaism as the notion that a divine purpose is controlling events upon this earth. "One" is used rarely in the O.T. to describe Yahweh (Dt 6:5 and in Zech.) Paul could think that such a one as Jesus was central.)

The two most striking fore-gleams of the doctrine of the Trinity,- (I Cor 12:4-6,- "the same Spirit,.. the same Lord, ... the same God"; and 2 Cor 13:13 "grace of Lord Jesus Christ ...love of God...fellowship of the Holy Spirit"),- are in reality examples of Hebraisms, parallelisms, in which the same thought is enforced by variety in repetition.

Hellenisation in Paul (Cont'd).

2. The Death of Jesus.

~~(p 507ff and p 545 and 600ff)~~ 170 ff

As has been seen/ the death of Jesus is a historical fact[57] with which Paul had to reckon: it,- just as the life of flesh,- had no place in apocalyptic Judaism. Paul converts the fact of the Death of Jesus into more than a mere incident, more than the historic fact consequent upon the human life; with the resurrection it becomes the symbol of the Christian life as one of mystical union and fellowship with Christ.

"I am crucified with Christ"..."through the Cross I am crucified to the World and the World to me"(Gal 2:19; 6:14; cf.Rom 7:4, 8:3). The rite of baptism becomes the symbol to Paul of this dying to the world and the 'union' with Christ: "Are ye ignorant that all who were baptised into Christ Jesus were baptised into his death? We were buried with him through baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life. For if we have become united(σύμφυτοι) with him by the likeness of his death we shall be also by the likeness of his resurrection; knowing this that our old man was crucified with him, that the body of sin might be done away, that so we should be no longer in bondage to sin" (Rom 6:5ff). "In Christ one is a new creation". (II Cor 5:17) ζῶ δὲ, οὐκέτι ἐγώ (Gal 2:20).

57/ I Thess 2:15; I Cor 11:23; 2 Cor 1:5; Phil 3:10; Col 1:24; Gal 3:1

Paul's was not a God-mysticism but a Christ-mysticism, quite alien to his Jewish heritage. The death of Jesus, - also foreign to his rabbinic and apocalyptic past, has become the figure of that 'New Life in Christ'; he has in himself experienced the death and resurrection of Christ and in that experience is united with Christ so that he is in Christ and Christ is in him. This "dying of Jesus" he bears about in his body "always". "For we which live are always being delivered unto death for Jesus' sake, that the life also of Jesus may be manifested in our mortal flesh"(I Cor 4:8ff).

This use by Paul of the Death of Jesus is quite different from the Gospel tradition:(Mark 8:34) there the disciple takes up his cross and follows as in I Cor 11:1 Christians are to be "imitators of Christ" and in Phil 2:4f they are to "have this mind which was in Christ Jesus". A union with Christ so close that a "dying with him" pictures it is more intimate than the personal relation of the Gospel tradition.

The fact of the mystical experience of God in Christ Paul can no more disregard than he can neglect the death of Jesus,- both factors which will not fit into his Jewish tradition. And to both he had at hand a telling analogy in the Hellenistic Mystery Cults, with the dying and rising gods, - communion with whom the initiate enjoys.

The 'Spirit' conception will not go far enough; Paul had subordinated this to the historical Jesus - the gifts of the 'Spirit' and the fruit of the 'Spirit' were to be for the expression of that life of love and humility among the brethren, exemplified in Jesus. Convinced that God himself was thus revea;ed he can not satisfy his experience by thinking that it

is a Being other than God with whom he has communion and the very epochal experiences of Jesus he undergoes establishing thereby that mystic communion with God. And so Christians are to do: "so you too count yourselves dead to sin but alive unto God in Christ Jesus".(Rom 6:11).

The 'dying and rising' implies a new-birth, surely; but the words of the cults for this re-birth are not in Paul:

παλιγγενεσία (Mt 19:28 and Titus 3:5);

ἀναγέννησις (I Peter 1:3; 1:23).[58]

58/ See Reitzenstein R. Die Hellenistischen Mysterien Religionen page 32, 26, 102, 117, 121

Intrinsic probability that the Hellenistic Mysteries contributed to the expression of Paul's mystical experience is increased by the frequent use of the title Κύριος for Jesus Christ. That this was a primitive evaluation of Jesus Christ the Aramaic phrase 'Maranatha' would indicate. But Paul all but says that he is aware of the Hellenistic usage:-

- I Cor 12:2 "When ye were Gentiles ..... no man can say Jesus is Kyrios but in the Holy Spirit".

- I Cor 8:5 "For there be that are called Gods, whether in heaven or on earth as there are gods many and lords many; yet to us there is one God the Father ... and one Lord, Jesus Christ". Kyrios often applied to the deity of the Mystery cult reflected the usual notion of the realtion of God to worshipper as that of master to slave.

That Paul has taken the word Kyrios from the Hebrew יְהוָה which in the LXX had become Κύριος is difficult of belief; there is no appositeness.

In later times the Kyrios-worship of Christians brought them into trouble with another Kyrios-cult, - that of Emperor-worship and persecution resulted.

Hellenization in Paul (Cont'd)

3. The Resurrection.

As has been seen, - at this point the apocalyptic Messianism has contributed many items in Paul's picture (pp ~~136~~ 137 & ~~172~~ 173) and yet of first importance is Pauls' experience of the risen Jesus. But even where apocalyptic enters so largely into Paul's interpretation of Jesus there are two or three points where Hellenistic thinking and life have added their contribution.

1 - The nature of the resurrection body in I Corinthians is not altogether Jewish: Paul says that the risen Jesus was not "flesh and blood" but a "spiritual - or pneumatic - body" .. σωματικὸν σῶμα (See page 140f for the Jewish hope.) As Jesus so were Christians to be in the resurrection; but the concern now is not with these who share in the resurrection. Paul's conception shows a modification of the Jewish in the direction of the Greek notion; the Greek since Plato had a belief in immortality but no interest in the resurrection of the body. The Jew thought of the body as inseparable from personality. "Paul has especially to confute the position of Greek Christians who believed in the immorality of the soul but not in the resurrection of the body, to whom the resurrection of Christ was either an exception or only an appearance. He meets this antipathy by a sort of compromise between the Hebrew idea of the resurrection of the body and the Greek conception of the immortality of the soul. No doubt the compromise was necessary to adjust the Hebrew and the Greek elements in his own mind. He rejects the physical conception of resurrection which on the whole prevailed in Pharasaic Judaism, but resurrection itself was absolutely essential to his fundamental faith that the future life of man rests upon and is wholly like that of Christ himself. The strange phrase "spiritual body" which seem a contradiction in terms to every Greek was not an un-natural effort on the part of a Greek-speaking Jew to preserve the distinct personality and at the same time free the life of the future from the burden and corruption of flesh and blood. The

resurrection of the body could not but be repugnant to any one who had in any measure the inheritance of Plato in his veins. But Paul believes, partly because he is a Hebrew, but chiefly because it is not according to Christ." (Prof. F.C.Porter in Sneath Religion and Future Life p 234f).

The resurrection appearances were in Galilee, as will be seen, and Paul puts his own experience alongside that of Peter's in I Corinthians. There is no hint that the empty tomb was a necessary part of the experience of the first Christians - save maybee the few words "after three days". That Paul would have thought the tomb empty is not unlikely. Certainly later Christians so thought.

ii - As in the Death of Jesus, so in the Resurrection Paul had ready at hand a happy analogy in the Greek and Oriental Mysteries. Because of the resurrection of Jesus Paul concludes that the resurrection of those who are in Christ is assured else is his preaching to no purpose. Similarly the Mysteries brought immortality to their devotees: "The common feature in these Oriental religions which made their way into the Greco-Roman world is the conception that through some ceremony, some magical sacrament, the worshipper may become so identified with a deity, and especially with the death and rising of a god that he escapes the mortality of human nature and becomes immortal".[59]

59/F.C.Porter in Sneath, Religion and the Future Life. p

iii - The Hellenization of Christian Messianism went on apace because of the functioning significance which these very narratives - created by the personality of Jesus - had in the Greek world in which they were told; supreme among the authenticating incidents was the Resurrection, even more telling in the Greek world than in the Jewish.

Even among the Jews the possibility of seeing one alive after death was not entirely lacking: - they had their conception of angels; and the Greek author of Acts (12:13-15) makes the praying group in John Mark's home think that is would be more probable that Peter's angel should be at the gate than that Peter should be released from prison. Herod Antipas is reported to have thought that John Baptist whom he had beheaded had risen - in the person of Jesus (Mk 6:14).

In the contemporary Gentile world the idea was not uncommon. Virgil in the 'Aeneid' speaks of the 'spirits' of the unburied dead roaming restlessly about, a source of distress to their own. Morley's 'Greek and Roman Ghost Stories' has many illustrations of the conception that the dead can and do appear. Pliny the Elder, no mere credulous un-educated person, Epicurean philosopher though he was, thought that the persons most apt to re-visit the world were the unburied dead and the violently killed. Suetonius, in his Life of Augustus, tells of a man of equestrian rank who certified with his oath that he had seen Augustus ascend from the pyre to heaven on the wings of a bird.

When Paul told of the Resurrection of Jesus in a world where the 'fear of death was much more powerful and more widely diffused than it is among ourselves' - 'to such a mood the announcement of the resurrection of Jesus must have brought a thrill difficult for us to realise - the supreme Dread not only met, but actually defeated within the world men knew! We can understand too, why the side of the new teaching which soon became pre-eminent amongst the Greeks was its promise of immortality'.(Bevan Hellenism and Christianity p 82).

Hellenisation in Paul (Cont'd).

4. The Sacraments.

The two rites of the primitive Church paralled two similar rites in the mystery cults; here normally in the formal expression of the cult-life the influence of similar cult practices would be expected to show first, especially if some of the Christians who now were baptized and who ate the Lord's Supper had before shared in the purification and sacred meal of the mystery cults. And it is almost certain that such were some who now have been 'washed'(ἀπελούσεσθε of I Cor 5:11). Further the process of Hellenization had gone so far by the second century that the rites have become magical. Ignatius explains the purpose of Jesus' baptism thus: it was 'to purify all waters!'

In addition to these considerations which look in the direction of baptism and the Lord's Supper as magical rites as in the mysteries there are some phrases in Paul's letters which seem to point the same way.

i Baptism

- Baptism was "in the name of Jesus".(I Cor 1:12;6:11; Rom 6:3). That James 2:7 "the honorable name called over you" refers alone to baptism is doubtful(See I.C.C.Ropes in loc). But the use of the name of Jesus in baptism is certain.[60] Some interpret this invocation of the Name in the light of to us superstitious ideas regarding the connection of a person's name with his personality and the power which a knowledge of his name gives one over him.[61]

60/ So Heitmüller Im Namen Jesu Taufe und Abendmahl im Urchristentum.
Cf Lake, K.Earlier Epistles of St.Paul p 192: "According to popular opinion, the world was full of spirits, good and bad, which were able to take possession of, or to obsess, not only human beings, but even inanimate objects. One of the main reasons for which the ordinary man took part in religious ceremonies was to avoid obsession by evil demons and to secure obsession or inspiration by good spirits".
It would seem that in the Synoptic Gospels a Hellenization of the conception of 'spirit' or 'spirits' as daemons has taken place. That it is in Paul is not so evident because of the subjection of Spirit to the life of Jesus as above, p 643ff. Judaism was averse to any 'name' but the ineffable one. (Cf Dt 18 and Acts).

- Baptism is once represented as an initiatory rite: "In one Spirit were we all baptized into one body"(I Cor 12:13) While the 'Spirit' possessed man is the Christian some read this passage to mean that the Spirit was communicated at Baptism, as by the sacrament.

- Two slight allusions to Baptism as a 'washing', a rite of cleansing, occur in Paul:

"Ye were washed" (I Cor 6:11);

"You..did he quicken..having blotted out the wond written in ordinances that was aginst us" (Col 2:13f).

- More telling is the reference to vicarious Baptism for the dead (I Cor 15:29). "Else what shall they do who are baptised for the dead? if the dead are not raised at all why then do they get themselves baptised for them"? That sacramentarian conceptions of the rite were held by some of the members of the Corinthian Church and that without calling forth Paul's displeasure is certain, it would seem from this practice.[62]

62/Dr.Morgan's suggestion that the silence of Paul at this point is an 'argumentum ad hominem' is not convincing(p 212) Paul had so many things to correct in the Corinthian Church he may have shut his eyes to this practice, but he seems to use the practice for his own argument.

There are some considerations which keep one from going all the way in finding in Paul that Christian Messianism has become a Mystery cult mediating salvation through the sacrament of baptism;

- Paul's insistence upon 'faith' as against 'works' would indicate that, even though there were some beginnings of a sacramental notion of salvation, the idea functions almost not at all.(Gal 3:2). (Rom 10:9) (See Hatch, The Pauline Idea of Faith).

- The ethical corollary mitigates what of sacramentalism the phrasing will apparently bear: in I Cor 6:11 he continues to those who were once 'sinners' but who now are 'washed' that they are to 'shun immorality'.

- It is a rite, important, but one which he may well leave to others.(I Cor 1:).

- Paul does not find help in telling of his own Christian experience by reference to the rite of baptism: the implication is that baptism followed did not synchronize with his Damascus experience.

Paul sees the Christian repeating in himself the life of Jesus and as he dates the gift of the Spirit[65] from the Resurrection so the rising from the immersion pictures that first resurrection.

65/ Rom 1:3(ἐξ)
1 Cor 15:45.
Phil 2:9.

ii - The Supper

References to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper are not scattered through the epistles as are those to Baptism; disorder in the Corinthian Church at the celebration of the rite occasioned the reference in Corinthian Letter (I Cor 10 11).

- Paul's account in the 12th chapter is the earliest: from Luke's account, (deleting 22:19b - 20 as W.H.do - a[64] Western non-interpolation the presence of which in the later texts is due to canflation with Mark, it would appear that there were two orders in the celebration of the Last Supper; Luke's is Cup - Bread (17, 19); Mark's is Bread - Cup (14:23-22); Paul follows Mark's order here (I Cor 11:23-25).I Cor 10:21 Luke's order is used by Paul: Cup of the Lord - the Table of the Lord. The Didache also has Luke's order.(xii). So it would seem that in the early Church there were two traditions both of which were followed but concerning which there is no dispute - significant against any sacramentarian conception in the early Church, and in Paul. A later generation was over-careful to say the very words.

64/ Dr.Morgan does not accept W.H.'s text which involves him (page 217) in the necessity of explaining away the mention of the two cups. The acceptance of the W.H.text on textual grounds simplifies the task and enforces the double tradition, which exists in any case - as in the Didache, and I Cor 10:21.

- In Paul it is a 'souvenir': εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν (v.24); εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν (I Cor 11: 24f). They are to remember Him who showed no such divisive spirit or self-seeking in His life as these Corinthians are showing even at the 'Table of the Lord'. This likewise is not favorable to a magical conception of the rite in Paul.

- The 'Cup of Blessing' (I Cor 10:16) brings the believer into communion with 'the Blood of the Christ', a vivid setting-forth of the mystical union the Believer experiences, sharing in the very life of Christ. It is also for Paul a means for uniting all Christians, and so breaking down all factions: Christians are one 'loaf' because we all partake of one 'loaf' (I Cor 10:17). This was expanded in the Didache: The use of the single loaf from which the portion was broken marked the unity just as the loaf composed of many grains once scattered over the mountain-side is a unit.

Three passages have been understood to mean that in Paul the Lord's Supper had magical value:-

i - 1 Cor 10:20 does show that Paul compares the Lord's Supper with Gentile feasts when the participant ate with 'demons'. "You cannot drink the Lord's Cup and the Cup of demons".

ii - Wherefore whosoever shall eat the bread or drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and of the Lord...For he that eateth and drinketh eateth and drinketh judgment unto himself, if he discern not the body" (I Cor 11: 27ff). The interpretation put upon this is that in the sacrament the 'real Presence' is implied here by Paul and the unworthy partaking by the Corinthians consisted in their failure to

treat with due respect the Table of the Lord but ate and drank as they did ordinary bread and wine. "For this cause many among you are weak and sickly, and not a few sleep" (11:30). I.e., the sacred elements were to the sacriligeous as poison.

iii - "They drank of a spiritual rock that followed them, and the rock was Christ" (I Cor 10:4).

These passages show a beginning in that appropriation of the vocabulary of the rites of the sacramentally efficacious cults of Hellenism. The issue was in the thorough-going 'real-presence' of later Christianity. That the sacraments are central, mediating a 'physical redemption in Paul is far from the truth: the nature of redemption is so inward, so 'spiritual', and exhibits itself in ethical living.

Apocalyptic Judaism was in a sense national; the hope was that through the Messiah ruling over Israel, Israel would dominate all nations. And a most far-reaching Hellenization was this break-down of the national barriers which circumcision would have perpetuated.[66]

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[66] This demand for individual and universal salvation was met by many Mysteries. See Case, S.J., Lectures on Galatians and R.T.20.

Paul and Primitive Christianity

At one point, Paul's interpretation was at variance with the Primitive group: in the matter of another sacrament, - the mark of birth within the nation, namely circumcision.

There were apparently three parties in the Galatian controversy: Paul, the Judaisers, and a mediating third party - "those who seemed to be of some importance" - the group of original apostles most probably (Gal 2:6). The mediating party would have Paul soften his demand that the rite of circumcision be not imposed upon the Gentiles. In this the victory was with Paul. But the issue turned not on a sacrament but on the national or universal and individual character of the new faith.

It was the Hellenistic Paul whose insight into the universal character of the new religion enabled him to see how completely the rising need for religion freed from the fetters of ethnic particularism was met in Jesus. So complete was his success that the question of circumcision ceased to be an issue.

Apocalyptic Judaism was in a sense national; the hope was that through the Messiah ruling over Israel, Israel would dominate all nations. And a most far-reaching Hellenization was this break-down of the national barriers which circumcision would have perpetuated.[65]

65/ This demand for individual and universal salvation was being met by many Mysteries. See Case, S.J., Lectures on Galatians and N.T.10.

Paulinism as in Ephesians shows some development in the place which the Christ is to hold in the 'Church': the 'Church' is thought of as the community of the elect now scattered abroad throughout the world. Paul does speak of "the Church of God", and the "Israel of God" and the "Church of God in Christ Jesus" but more often the word is limited to the individual community. In Ephesians the "Church" is the scattered communities unified by the same Spirit.

Paul has in I Cor 12 the same idea as is worked out more fully in Ephesians, that the Church is the body of Christ; "the communion of his body" (I Cor 10:16) is the same idea in germ - the 'Church'. In Ephesians, Christ is the head of the Church and so controls the church and the "fulness" is that filling out which is the work of the body; so the Church is in Ephesians the "filling out" of Christ, the Head.(1:22f).

The Pastorals have little or nothing of Messianism, but are concerned with details of the development of the growing Church. I Tim 3:16 has a summary of the "mystery of good" living"-

ὃς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί
ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι
ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις
ἐκηρύχθη ἐν κόσμῳ ἔθνεσιν
ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ
ἀνελήμφθη ἐν δόξῃ.

This is manifestly a short synopsis of the Life of Jesus.

In I Peter too the Life of Jesus is openly set forth as an example to be followed: (I Peter 2:21).

"He committed no sin
No guile was ever found upon his lips;
He was reviled and made no retort,
He suffered and never threatened, but left

everything to Him who judges justly; he bore our sins in his own body on the gibbet, that we might break with sin and live for righteousness; and by his wounds you havebeen healed".

The earthly life of Jesus further interested the writer of I Peter, for what He did during the interval between the death and the resurrection receives speculative treatment (I Peter 3:18; 4:6). The speedy end is very near: "Now the end of all is near. Steady then, keep cool and pray"(4:7).

Hebrews, also, with much Alexandrian influence evident gives witness to the life of Jesus: This Priest after the line of the lineless Melchizedek "in the days of his flesh..... offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears" (Hebs 5:6). This is the Gethsemane incident told in quite individual phrasing. The apocalyptic conception of the "end" still persists: "at the end of these days"(1:2); and the day draweth nigh"(10;25); "a certain fearful expectation of judgment and a fierceness of fire"(10;27). This "priestly Messiah" is not the Messiah of Jewish anticipation.

But though these later works which show the influence of Paul characterize the earthly life of Jesus, the emphasis becomes pre-eminent of the Gospels.

C H A P T E R V

CHRISTIAN MESSIANISM (Cont'd)

A. CHRISTIAN MESSIANISM IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

B. HELLENIZATION IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.

CHRISTIAN MESSIANISM IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

Schweitzer's "Von Reimarus zu Wrede" was published in 1906, five years before his "Geschichte der paulinischen Forschung" in 1911; the popularity of Apocalyptic emphasis in the understanding of primitive Christianity dates from the earlier book. There is more apocalyptic Messianism in the Synoptic Gospels than in Paul. But Paul's Letters are earlier than the Gospels. Paul was himself witness to the new regime already begun, for he was witness to the Resurrection of Jesus Christ. His Christian Messianism is quite unlike that of the Jewish literature of the same period. Paul's experience had colored his Messianism. When the Christians of the second generation sought to express their hopes in Jesus Christ, even though it took the form of perpetuating the tradition of Jesus' words and deeds, more and more recourse was had to the standard apocalyptic literature to fill out the portrait. Their experience was not sufficiently immediate to check the delineation. The result was that in the Synoptic Gospels - just as in the Apocalyptic literature of contemporary Judaism * there is no homogeneous characterisation of the Messiah.

Davidic - 1 - In the Synoptic Gospels the Davidic-Messiah idea, which in Paul is all but lacking, enters vitally into the representation of Jesus' life. "In the popular anticipations of the coming age, the deliverance of the nation had never ceased to occupy the central place. Apocalyptic ideas were formally accepted, but they were little more than a back-

ground for the great patriotic dream of the supremacy of Israel". (Scott, E.F., Kingdom and the Messiah p 175) The reason for the blending of the two conceptions is easily understood: force of circumstances had occasioned the transference of the earthly hope to the heavenly; but withal the present life had much of joy for the Jews which they were loath to yield to the unknown apocalyptic. "Doubtless in the common apprehension the national political hope was associated with this larger outlook".(Jackson-Lake Beginnings vol i p 357). And the resurrection belief helped in the confusion, for Jesus who had lived in Galilee was now in heaven and could come as the apocalyptic Messiah was expected, - on the clouds.

(8)Mt 15:24
"I was sent but to
the lost sheep of
the house of Israel"

15:27	Mk 7:28
The dogs eat the crumbs	The dogs eat of the children's crumbs.

(9)Mt 19:28

When the Son of Man ...ye shall sit... judging the 12 tribes of Israel	Lk 22:30 ye shall sit on thrones judging the 12 tribes of Israel.

(10) Lk 24:21-27 "We hoped it was he who should redeem Israel",

(The last three have the Davidic idea only by implication. Peters' Confession Mk 8:27-31 suggests a conception of Messiah who will not die).

Davidic-Messiah Passages in the Synoptics

(1) Mt 1:1 J'X the Son of David

Lk 1:27 Of the house of David

(2) Mt 1:6ff
David begat.....Joseph
the husband of Mary, of whom
was born Jesus...the Christ.

1:69 the house of his Servant David

2:3 the family of David

3:31 the son of David

(3) Mt 9:27 & 20:30 Mk 10:47 Lk 18:38
"Thou son of David" Thou Son of David Thou Son of David
21:31 10:48 18:39

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(4) Mt 12:23
Can this be the Son of David?

(5) Mt 21:9 Mk 11:9f Lk 19:37
Hosanna to the son of David — Hosanna.. the Km of our father David — Blessed is the King (but no explicit mention of David)

(6) Mt 21:15
Children..crying
Hosanna to the son
of David

(7) Mt 22:42f Mk 12:35 Lk 2):41
"The Christ..they say the son of David — "The Christ the son of David? — "How say the Christ is David's son?"

(8) Mt 15:24
"I was sent but to
the lost sheep of
the house of Israel"
15:27 Mk 7:28
The dogs eat the crumbs — The dogs eat of the children's crumbs.

(9) Mt 19:28 LK 22:#30
When the Son of Man
...ye shall sit... — ye shall sit on throne
judging the 12 tribes of Israel — judging the 12 tribes of Israel.

(10) Lk 24:21-25 "We hoped it was he who should redeem Israel".

(The last ~~three~~ four 7,8,9 10 have the Davidic idea only by implication. Peters' Confession Mk 8:27-9:1 suggests a conception of Messiah who will not die).

"Whether consciously or unconsciously, Mark reveals the fact that though Jesus meant the 'Life of the Age to Come' by the Kingdom of God, the crowd meant the restored prosperity of Israel, and while he was looking for the judgment of mankind by the Son of Man appointed by God, they were expecting a king of the house of David".Jackson-Lake vol 1 p 365.

From the passages it will be seen that the Davidic Messiah idea is central in the two genealogical accounts, which are later than Mark. But the conception is in Mark, and seems to have historic probability in accounting for Pilate's action: the over-zealous disciples had centred about Jesus a disturbance which alone would awaken suspicion in the Roman governor's mind..The presence of the idea in both strands of one doublet (Mt 9:27), and in one strand of another (Mt 12:23), would suggest that it had place in the still earlier Q.[1]

1/ Notwithstanding this from Beginnings vol 1 p 365: "But the figure of the Scion of David had coalesced with that of the Son of Man rather than taken its place, and the term 'Christ' covered both..... It is scarcely doubtful but that in this combination, the idea of the Son of David was added to that of the Son of Man, rather than the Son of Man to that of the Son of David". If the note on page is correct the evaluation of Jesus as Son of David would be a normal estimate during Jesus' lifetime,- despite the unmessianic character and the teachings against violence. If not a normal estimate, at least a half suppressed hope.

Priestly (2.) The Messiah who was to come of the priestly line has no place in the Synoptic Gospels; Jackson-Lake in Beginnings suggest that the query which Jesus starts as to the relation of the 'Christ' to David may be "directed against the Pharisaical revival of the expectation of a Davidic Messiah", and point out that the passage "is entirely intelligible in view of such documents as the Book of Jubilees (t Levi?) which expect a "messiah" from the house of Levi". (P 364f). This type of Messianism did not function vitally in the Synoptic narrative.

Apocalyptic 3. So many passages in the Synoptic Gospels are drawn so un-mistakably from the Apocalyptic hope of Judaism that some - just as in Paul - have come to regard this (in Jesus) as the explanation of the Christian religion. He is conceived as regarding himself as the Apocalyptic Messiah of the Jewish hope and as so declaring himself.

Two factors must be kept in mind in reading these Gospels: i - the Gospels were written after Paul's letters, after the Fall of Jerusalem, (or at the time of that disaster), after Christianity had become an organized movement and had spread even to Rome, after some had been brought "before governors and kings" and had tasted death "for a testimony unto them"; and ii - although the gospel tradition of the sayings and doings of Jesus was in the possession of the immediate followers of Jesus in the making during the expansion of Christianity, the Gospels as we have them come from the second generation of Christians.

iii The Apocalyptic element in Paul - which was seen to be less fundamental than has been supposed - has been taken up in the Synoptic Gospels, in all, Q, Mark, Luke and Matthew.

Passages in Q - Lk 12:40 :: Mt 24:44 "In an hour that we think not the Son of man cometh".Cf Lk 12:42-46

Lk 17:24 :: Mt 24:27 "For as the lightning.. so shall the Son of Man be in his day".

Lk 17:26 :: Mt 24:37 "As .. in the days of Noah so shall it also be in the days of the Son of Man".

Lk 22:30 :: Mt 19:28 "When the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory ye also shall sit upon the twelve thrones, judging ....Israel".

Lk 13:9 :: Mt 10:33 "He that denieth me..shall be denied in the presence of the angels of God".

Lk 13:28f:: Mt 8:12,11"Weeping and gnashing" ..shall sit down in the Km of God".

Lk 12:56 :: Mt 16:3 "Ye know how to discern the face of the heaven but..cannot.. the signs of the times".

The "Apocalyptic Woes" preceding the end are in Luke 6:24-26 following the Beatitudes and Matthew also has similar "Woes" Mt 23 15-39 directed against the Pharisees.

MARK

The Gospel of Mark, oldest of the Synoptics, is the "citadel of the extreme eschatological school of interpretation".[2] That the 'Little Apocalypse' was a source for the author of the Gospel is demonstrable;[3] but the eschatology of the 13th chapter dominates the whole book. E.g.,

Mark 8:38 "Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of Man also shall be ashamed of him when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels".

Mark 9:1 "There are some here of them that stand by who shall in no wise taste of death till they see the kingdom of God come with power".

Mark 14:62 "Ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of Power and coming with the clouds of heaven".

Matter peculiar to Luke has apocalyptic details:

Lk 10:17 "I beheld Satan fallen as lightning from heaven"

Lk 10:35-8 "Blessed..whom the Lord shall find watching"

Lk 17:21 "Lo! the Kingdom of God is within you"

Lk 17:33-44 "Over the destruction of Jerusalem

2/Streeter in O.S.S.P. Appendix

3/Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem, Sanday et al especially "The Origin of St.Mark" p339-421 by N.P.Williams. Montefiore, C.G., in his Commentary of the Synoptic Gospels in loco regards the 13 of Mark as not from Jesus.
Also O.S.S.P. p 179ff.
Also Hawking, Sir J. Horae Synop.
The length of the 'discourse' for Mark, the absence of the characteristic Marcan expressions καὶ, εὐθέως when compared with the immediately preceding and succeeding verses, the lack of historical presents, the hint that it was a written section, not spoken as stated in 'Jesus began to say' v 5- "(Let him that readeth understand") v 14, etc., all point in the one direction.

Matter peculiar to Matthew has apocalyptic details:

Mt 13:49 "So shall it be in the end of the world, the angels shall come forth, etc"

Mt 13:39 "The harvest is the end of the world"

Mt 13:40 "So shall it be in the end of the world;the Son of Man shall send etc."

Mt 24:3 "What shall be the sign of thy coming and of the end of the world?"

Mt 28:20 "I am with you always,even unto the end of the world"

Mt 24:30 "Then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven"

Mt 24:31 "With a great sound of a trumpet"

Mt 25:13 "Watch therefore for ye know not the day nor the hour"

Mt 25:31-46 "Concerning the Judgment of the Son of Man

And above all

Mt 10:23 "But when they persecute you in this city, flee into the next: for verily I say unto you, Ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel till the Son of Man be come".

While apocalyptic Messianism is found in each of the three Gospels, - even where they show no dependence - when the earlier apocalyptic of Mark is the primary source the other Gospels have some elaboration in the picture.(See Streeter, B.H.in the Appendix to Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem; also von Dobschutz, Eschatology of the Gospels). To cite only one illustration:

from Mt Mark 13:4 means When shall the destruction of Jerusalem take place - "One stone upon another not thrown down"
Mt 24:3 is explicitly apocalyptic "Thy coming and the end of the world".

Of "With a great sound of a trumpet" in Mt 24:31 but not elsewhere in the three.

from Luke Lk 21:24 "And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led captive into all the nations: and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled".

If the term "Son of Man" in the Gospels is messianic, it is but an added witness to the prevalence of this apocalyptic evaluation of Jesus, in the time and provenance of the Synoptics.[4] The term is in all, - Q, Mark, Matthew and Luke.[5]

4/ See Burton, E.D. Lexicographical Studies "Son of Man", whose conclusion is that Jesus used the Aramaic Bar Nasha as a self-designation, expressing his one-ness with humanity; and that the Greek Christians turned this peculiarly personal term of Jesus for Himself into 'The Son of Man'; "the term 'the Son of Man' has in itself nothing to do with messiahship".
Also "Son of Man in the Usage of Jesus" by Prof.B.W.Bacon in the 'Journal of Biblical Literature' vol 41,p 143-182.
Also Jackson-Lake Beginnings of Christianity vol 1 page 368-384 and elsewhere.
Cf Dr.C.Patton The Journal of Religion "Did Jesus call Himself Son of Man"? Dr. Patton answers in the negative, Professor Bacon in the affirmative, but his question is as to the usage of Jesus, not to the Person so designated.

5/For the passages see Jackson-Lake Beginnings vol 1 page 375:
In Q are 8, in both Mt and Lk
In Mk 16, and in Mt 16 and in Lk 12 of Mk.
In Mt Peculiar to Mt 7
In Lk " " Mk 8

Many of the additional details of the apocalyptic picture are drawn from Jewish sources, as one would expect. E.g., Matthew's addition of the trumpet in Mt 24:31 is like Paul's "at the last trump" I Cor 15:52, which in turn is like 4 Ezra 6:23 "And the trump shall sound aloud".

The situation at the time of the writing of the Synoptics was such that the apocalyptic rather than the national hope would normally be stressed: the words of Jesus about non-resistance and his recognition of Caesar's rights together with his payment of even the Jewish Temple tax and the refusal to entertain the thought of domination over the empires of the world were gladly recalled by his followers in those days of upheaval, when Rome was watching the new group.

Franz Boll[6] has gathered together many parallels from the texts of Hellenistic astrology which go far to account for the imagery in the eschatological discourses which extant Jewish influence has failed to explain. E.g.,

Luke alone has(21:9): "and tumults"

In Nechepso-Petosiris(150 B.C.)speaking of "a great mam" who will take to the field in war against Egypt from Asia and bring disaster. This Hellenistic account has as Luke has among the disasters ἀκαταστασίαι Mt and Mk have not this addition. (See Boll p 11 Note 2 and p 130)Boll on page 131 cites several passages from Hellenistic Astrology to parallel this.

6/ Aus der Offenbarung Johannis Hellenistische Studien zum Weltbild der Apokalypse Leipzig 1914 v i and 151 pages.

E.g.,

Luke alone has the combination "great earthquakes and in divers places famines and pestilences"

:Bell cites several passages :where this Lukan combination : κατὰ τόπους λοιμοὶ καὶ λιμοὶ ἔσονται
:page 86 note 12 and page 131

Luke alone has (21:11) "terrors". N.T.

:Isa 19:17 has the singular else :not in. But he has a number of :similar but not exactly parallel :passages in Astrology.

Mk 13:12 "Children shall rise up: Mt 24:10 against parents" Lk 21:16

: Cf Mich 7:6 : Enoch 100:1f

and in Hellenistic Astrology see page 132 Bell.

etc.

Just as some have thought to understand Paul wholly through the one factor of his inheritance alone, apocalyptic Messianism,- so with Jesus, Mark's 'secret' that He was the apocalyptic Messiah teaching an 'interim ethic' with all else unhistorical has been made central, and determining. With Paul, because the reflection of his Christianity at first hand is in his Letters, it has been possible more properly to estimate the apocalyptic element in his reading of his experience. With Jesus the task permits of no such certain setting forth, for He trusted men to pass on to others the ideal of love and humility he had made actual. The Gospels are what others understood Him to do and say - others, who were not companion-apostles. The Synoptics, written when Paul's ministry was over, reflect - as has been seen - the faith of a church to which Apocalyptic had become more explicit and controlling. Paul thus is our first interpreter of Jesus. The two are mutually helpful in the understanding of each other. Synoptics and Paul. And with Paul apocalyptic is not central.

To discover Jesus' own thought of Himself is not the immediate task, - but rather the interpretation of Jesus by the Church as mirrored in the first three Gospels. The presence of elements in the teaching of Jesus which the apocalyptic evangelists record which does not conform to apocalyptic Messianism points in the direction of that interpretation of Jesus which Paul had made. The effort has been made to run all the teaching of Jesus into that apocalyptic mould but the straining suggests that primitive elements not eliminated and not accomodated to the apocalyptic persist in the apocalyptic Synoptics. The 'new' words and deeds that find no counterpart else where, setting forth the ideal of love and humility in opposition to idea of a 'mighty' Messiah cannot be escaped.

7/ Compare, e.g., the article in the American Journal of Theology by Professor C.R.Bowen vol 22, p 562. On Mk 4:29 "When the fruit is ripe then he puts forth the sickle, because the harvest is come". <u>Then, and not till then, dawns the Kingdom of God".</u> It should be added that the apocalyptic interpretation does in many cases reveal the meaning of the otherwise meaningless text, as Sanday, W. and Burkitt, F.C., have shown.

The Life. The Gospels purport to be a life of Jesus Christ: it was the life that was difficult to fit into the Messianism of the Apocalypses. In the Synoptic Gospels are marks of the authentication of that life which have point beyond those influenced by contemporary and the Old Testament Judaism, marks which would have appeal to the Hellenistic mind.

1 Miracles:

The Old Testament had its wonder-deeds; men filled with the 'Spirit' of Yahweh performed mighty miracles, in Palestine. (See Case, E.E.C.p 145ff). The Messianic Age was to be inaugurated with the premonitory signs of young men's visions and old men's dreams, and the prophesyings of youths and maidens. (Joel 2 :28ff; Zech 12:10). The Messiah in the apocalypses has the 'Spirit' of righteousness poured out upon him and He is to destroy his enemies miraculously (see above p 70).In Paul the Christian group perform miracles, (Case pp 148ff) but the miraculous deeds of Jesus are not put forth for their evidential value, the resurrection is used but it is God's deed.

A like desire for the miraculous in the Hellenistic world was an added incentive to gather the miraculous doings of Jesus as authentication for that life. Mark is such an apology for the life of Jesus; spirit-filled at baptism he gave himself to a ministry of healing. 'In Mark these matters ('mighty works, and wonders and signs') are presented from a more distinctly Greek point of view, or rather from a Christian point of view which has developed

in the direction of Greek hero-worship. "Jesus works miracles in virtue of his own inherent resurrection is not to be so much an act of God as a display of Jesus' own power - it is not God who ~~raises~~ him, but Jesus simply ~~rises~~ (E.g. 8:31; 9:9f; 10:34; Matthew on the other hand always uses the passive, e.g., 16:21; 17:9. 23; 20:19; 27:63f; Luke 9:22 says 'raised', but 'rise' in 18:33; 24:7)".

(Case E.E.C. p 232 and note.) It will be seen too that Mark's story of the resurrection originally told of Galilean appearances, with less detail for the Jewish mind as to the empty tomb - His teaching with authority (Mk 1:21-34) was that powerful command over "even the unclean spirits".

8/ Paul's "ruling title for God might almost be said to be "He that raised up Jesus Christ from the dead".

I Thess 1:10
Gal 1:1
Rom 4:17, 24; 7:4; 6:4; 8 :11; 10:7-9; 7:4;
I Cor 6:14; 15:15
2 Cor 1:9; 4:14
Col 2:12; 20; 1:18; 3:3.

In the Gentile world the ability to work miracles was often the occasion for deification. The Jews frowned upon exorcism as endangering their Yahweh worship; but Philo (On Giants sec 2-4; On Dreams sec 32f; On Monarchy i sec 9) and Josephus (B.J.,7:6:3) are evidence by Jews of the prevalence of magic in the Greek world. Plutarch says that all sickness and suffering are plagues from God, assaults from demons from which the only help is to secure the aid of a more powerful spirit (On Superstition Bohn Lib p 266). The remedy for disease was sought in religion and the HEaling Gods were many. Eshmun(G.A.Cooke Textbook of North Semitic Inscriptions p 109) was a healing god, Sandon of Tarsus, the Isis Cult (Diodorus on History i:25, Tibullus Book i :3; Strabo Book 17:1:17). OF all the healing cults that of Asclepius was most famous; (see article Encyclopaedia Britannica xi article Epidauros). Mortals also healed; Tacitus tells of cures performed by the Emperor Vespasian (Bk iv sec 31f) (cf the King's touch for scrofula). Apollonius of Tyana (Life of Apollonius by Philostratus Loeb Cl Lib) was famous for his success in healing (see Bk iii ch 39).

Miracle activity is not absent from Q as Matthew 12:22 -45 witnesses; and the teaching in Q is such as would go hand in hand with the narrative of Mark respecting Jesus' healing: Mt 10:8 - "Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out demons": but here the direction is to the disciples as in Paul disciples did the miraculous (Cf Lk 10:9; 9:2; and MT 12:43-45 for other Q passages).

Mt and Lk That the narrative of the miraculous is told to set forth Jesus as Messiah is established by the fact that where the later Gospels, Matthew and Luke use Mark they heighten the miraculous and the heightening is always in one direction, - i.e., the more miraculous incident is not Mark's account. (See Hawkins, Sir J. Horae Synopticae). An illustration will suffice:

Mt 15	Mk 8
v 37 And they all ate and were filled: and they took up that which remained over of the broken pieces seven baskets full.	v 8 And they ate and were filled: and they took up of broken pieces seven baskets.
And they that did eat were four thousand men, besides women and children.	And they were about four thousand:
And he sent away the multitudes.	and he sent them away.

ii Divine Parentage

The miraculous was made a manifest authentication not only during the life of Jesus but also at his birth. Paul has a pre-existence, received from the Jewish heritage of the Messiah speculation, but this is not used by him. Mark begins the story of the Life with the Baptism, and reveals no knowledge of the Virgin Birth or makes no use of such (Mk 63:3). Jesus is Messiah by inspiration at Baptism. But the Gospels which use Mark have pushed the conception of that which Jesus was to Christians back,- past the Transfiguration, past the Confession that Jesus was Messiah by Peter, past the Baptism to the very birth.

Paul thought of the Resurrection as the inauguration of Jesus as Messiah: it was at the Resurrection that He became the life-giving Spirit (I Cor 15:45); as against Jesus' Davidic descent according to the flesh, Paul thought of Him as 'Son of God' from and after - (ἐξ Rom 1⁴) the Resurrection; and in Philippians 2 He receives the exalted name above every name following His exaltation by resurrection. It seems clear that the Resurrection is thepoint at which Paul thought of Jesus as the Christ.

It would be natural that marks of that which Jesus became by the resurrection should be found in earlier phrases of his existence: the Transfiguration is one such. It was kept secretnuntil after the resurrection: "Tell no man..until the Son of Man be risen from the dead.... .. And they kept the saying". It is as though Mark were saying "even in his

life-time, to a few, Jesus showed himself as in his resurrection splendor".

Again, of the primitive group, Peter was the first to (I Cor 15) see; and to Peter came the insight that He was the Christ even during that life-time.(Mark 8:27).

This finding of Messianic traits in the earthly life of Jesus has furtherillustration in the birth stories in Matthew and Luke; not only is the miraculous of Mark used in heightened form in Matthew and Luke,- but the process is pushed back to the very beginning of that life.

- Luke's narrative, save for verses 34 and 35 of the first chapter, is really a 'glorified birth' story - one such as any pure wife might treasure of her coming child. Verses 34 and 35 make the Lukan account a supernatural birth-story.

- Matthews' is an independent story - frankly supernatural(1:18-25) it has been suggested that the enclusion of verses 34 and 35 in Luke gave rise to the charge by the Christians' enemies that Jesus was of bastard birth, that his father was a soldier. To this Matthew's genealogy is disclaimer,- that even if such characters as Rahab, and Ruth the foreigner, and the harlot "that had been the wife of Uriah" were in Jesus' line this would in no way impugn his Messiahship, that he was indeed born of pure virgin.[9]

9/Mark 6:3 reads "Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary? Matthew reads "the carpenter's son?". Luke:"Joseph's son?". If Mark read originally as now the change by the evangelists that tell the Virgin-birth of Jesus is difficult to account for; probably Mark has been edited in conformity with Luke and Matthew, after being used by Mt and Lk.

This is a new element in estimating the significance of Jesus, an element foreign to Judaism, for the Hebrews had not the Greek feeling that there was something unholy about ordinary generation. Authentication by divine parentage was not a category the Jew used; once in Genesis the angels are said to have co-habited with mortals but with no very happy results. The Jew used the idea metaphorically, and thought of Israel as the child of God, whom God could call from Egypt to be his Son (Amos).

In Philo, thanks to Hellenistic environment, there is an approximation to the realistic conception of divine parentage. (See Allegories of Sacred Laws Bk 3, Sec 77).

In the Gentile world the notion of Divine Parentage in explanation of the great services to mankind on the part of the hero was quite common. Illustrations are numerous: - Alexander the Great, who accepted divine honours without protest (Case E.C.p 206ff), and at whose death a cult of Alexander arose, - was in many quarters thought to have had a god for father. "It seems to me" - his biographer Arrian wrote - "that a hero totally unlike any other human being could not have been born without the agency of the deity". (Anabasis vii 30) (Cf Dryden, in his poem 'Alexander's Feast' The Erythraean prophetess (Strabo xvii i 43) also affirmed Alexander's divine descent.

10/ The second stanza sets forth the tradition regarding Alexander: Thmotheus sings at the Feast to the Emperor:

'The song began from Jove,
Who left his blissful seats above,
(Such is the power of mighty love)
A dragon's fiery form bely'd the god;
Sublime on radiant spires he rode,
When he to fair Olympia press'd
And while he sought her snowy breast;
Then round her slender waste he curled
And stamp'd an image of himself, a sov'raign of the world.
The listening crowd admire the lofty sound,
A present deity, they shout around:
A present deity, the vaulted roofs rebound.
With ravish'd ears
The monarch hears,
Assumes the god,
Affects to nod,
And seems to shake the spheres.'

11/ Case, S.J. E.R.C. p 192-232.

A similar story is told of Augustus but Apollo was reputed father (Suetonius, Life of Augustus in 'Lives'). Heroules had Zeus for father (Diodorus Bk 4 Ch 1f). Asclepius was reputed son of Apollo, as some ardent disciples of Plato claimed forhim. Similarly Demetrius and even Pompey were thought sons by Sidon. Emperors, especially the Seleucids, took to themselves titles which implied connection with the deities.[11]

This means of authenticating the religious significance of Jesus would have appeal in the very world to which the Gospels went; it is not that the stories were fabricated 'out of whole cloth'; the evangelists knew the significance of Jesus and this category was at hand to give expression to that evaluation which they wished to convey.

Of significance is the fact that in the very gospels which put forth this Hellenistic evaluation of Jesus is found a characteristically Jewish method of estimating Him: the genealogies, - of no point at all to the Greek readers

12/ Shakespeare is merely repeating Plutarch in this regard. Cf Cumont, Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans, and Case, S.J. E.E.C. p 56ff. At Jesus' birth a "star" appeared (Mt 2:2).

11/ Case, S.J. E.E.C. p 196-238.

iii The Death

- The miraculous comes into evidence not only during the lifetime of Jesus and at his birth, but also with the death by crucifixion. There was then darkness, "the sun's light failing" (Lk 23:44), the rending of the temple veil, the earth-quake and the rending of rocks; "the tombs were opened and many bodies of the saints that had fallen asleep were raised". (Mt 27:53).

"The heavens blaze forth the death of princes" Shakespeare makes Calpurnia say in Julius Caesar[12]. Something of that Hellenistic feeling of interest in the astrological speculations of the day is in this.

12/ Shakespeare is merely repeating Plutarch in this regard. Cf Cumont, Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans, and Case, S.J. E.E.C. p 242ff. At Jesus' birth a "star" appeared (Mt 2:2).

iv- The Resurrection and the Ascension.

a)- The Resurrection: There is discernible in the Synoptics a progression in thinking about the resurrection and that development is not in the direction of Greek thinking but reveals Jewish interest dominant.

In Paul the resurrection appearances were of such nature that he places the appearance to Peter first and the appearance to himself on the Damascus Way last in a list of such events, with no hint at any difference.(See above p 173ff).

In the Synoptics are two traditions, - the Galilean in Mark and in Matthew and the Jerusalem in Luke (and John). It is almost certain that the closing verses of Mark, now lost, told of Galilean appearances (Mk 14:28 and 16:7). Yet even in Mark evidential proof of the resurrection is found in the visit to the tomb (16:1-8), by some women. In Matthew and Luke the Jewish inference from the resurrection appearances is given explicitly, the tomb was empty.

This development is made the greater by the story of the Ascension.

b)- The Ascension.

In the New Testament, the possibility of reviving the dead body is taken for granted. Jairus' daughter was raised by Jesus, to go on with her earthly career, as was the Widows son (Mk 5:21-43 and parallels; Lk 7:11-17; Cf Mt 27:53). In Acts Peter raises Dorcas(9:36) and Paul - Eutychus(20:12). Cf Rev 11:11. In the contemporary Judaism the thought was equally common. The worthies were snatched away to heaven, Moses Enoch, Elijah and Isaiah. In 2 Kings 13:21 the prophet raises one dead. In the case of those who stay on earth no

ascension is implied.

In Greek thinking the ascension consists merely in this that some one has seen the dead one pass as from the funeral pyre to heaven; e.g., Plutarch in 'Numa' says that Romulus was snatched away in a whirl-wind and his body never found. (Cf Pliny Natural History Bk 29 i; Bk 7:37; Bk26:8 Bk 7:53) That the belief in the resurrection of the body was also held by many of the unlettered Greeks and Romans seems natural: Lucian, the satirist, says he knew a man who was raised twenty days after his death and that he attended him! The satire would have no point if there were not many who were of this mind.

The reality of the resurrection was objectified in the dramatic portrayal in the Mysteries.

The notion as to the nature of the resurrection receives correction in the Ascension story in Luke 24:44-53; before this Jesus Risen had taken pains to show his hands and his feet: "a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye behold me having".(24:40).[13]
"And they gave him a piece of broiled fish. And he took it, and ate before them". This is the One who "was carried up into Heaven"(24:51).

13/ See Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, by K.Lake. Crown Theological Series.

v- The Sacraments

Baptism

As a Christian rite Baptism receives no mention at all; John the Baptist's practice is detailed and Jesus' acceptance of the sacrament at John's hand is told; then it was that the Spirit came upon Jesus (Mk1;9-11). The inference is easy but it is left for the readers to make - namely that for Christians too at Baptism comes the endowment.

The Lord's Supper.

The narrative of the institution of the Lord's Supper in the Synoptics is based on Mark's account,- with some dependence by Luke on Paul's (I Corinthians 11), (see above p 185 where the historical kernel is found in Paul and pp 206ff). An advance in the direction of the sacramentarian conception is to be noted in Matthew: Where Mark reads "They all drank of it" in Matthew this reads as a command: "Drink ye all of it"(Mk 14:23; Mt 26:27). Matthew moreover adds to Mark's cup words "unto remission of sins" (Mt 26:28). A theological interpretation is hinted at in Mark's words in chapter ten 45 "and to give his life λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν.
"The Son of Man came not to be served but to serve, and without reserve to devote his life, even if need be unto death, that by so doing he might release many from the bondage or misery in which they are held. This also his disciples ought to do for others".(Burton, Smith, and Smith,- Biblical Ideas of Atonement p 118).

V - Universality

That universality which Paul had won for the Christian Gospel (see p 213) finds place in the Synoptics: circumcision is mentioned only in connection with the narrative in Luke concerning John Baptist and Jesus(1:59; 2:21). Jesus' attitude to the Law is that these time honored institutions are to have place only so long as they fulfill the purpose for which they were instituted: the sanctity of the Temple David had violated for human need, the sabbath was made for man and not man for the sabbath and so the Law was to minister to human welfare and when even the sacred Law failed to do that for which it had been made it too must yield: "An eye for an eye"... "But I say unto you, Love your enemies".

The Gentile mission has Jesus' approbation: "The gospel must first be preached unto all the nations"(Mk 13:10). A mission to the Samaritans was part of Jesus' own ministry (Lk 17:11-19), and the Good Samaritan had commendable traits above the professionally religious(Lk 10:28-37). The Syrophoenician woman was not beneath Jesus' notice (Mk 7:24-30), though He says in mitigation of his humanitarian act that it was to the lost sheep "of the house of Israel" that He was sent. (Mt 15:24).

CHRISTIAN MESSIANISM in THE FOURTH GOSPEL

The Fourth Gospel is a "Gospel"; it has for outline the life of Jesus, the very thing in the new group which the Judaism of the day and of the past found difficult to accomodate to itself. The purpose of the book is frankly to show that Jesus was indeed the Christ.(Jn 20:31). In this the auther pursues a course quite different from that which the Synoptics had before him; though his is a "Life" the Messianism of Judaism or of contemporary Jewish thinking has little place. The Old Testament is used to witness that Jesus is the One Expected; Abraham, Moses and the prophets are mentioned with reverence and "Salvation is of the Jews".

1. The Davidix Messiah

The national or Davidic Messiah is not an evaluation which the Fourth Gospel uses; the motive for the action which Pilate took in putting Jesus to death has not in the Fourth Gospel, the historic probability which the Synoptics have in the Triumphal Entry (though it is in John's Gospel but connected with the Johannine Raising of Lazarus Jn 12:17f). But there do remain one or two marks of the Davidic idea;

-Jn 1:45 "Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph".

-Jn 6:42 "Is not this Jesus the son of Joseph,"

-Jn 7:42 "Hath not the scripture said that the Christ cometh of the seed of David and from Bethlehem, the village where David was?" But this is not one of the ideas with which the auther is at home.

2. Priestly Messianism

The hope of the Testament of the Twelve Partiarchs seems not to have influenced the priestly office of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel at all.

3. Apocalyptic

The apocalyptic Messiah of the Synoptic Gospels has quite disappeared in the Fourth Gospel; yet there remain three or four 'markings' of that earlier hope:

- John 5:28f "Marvel not at this: for the hour cometh in "which all that are <u>in the tombs</u> shall <u>hear his voice</u>, and shall "come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done ill, unto the resurrection of judgment".

- John 6:39f "This is the will of him that sent me, that of "all which he hath given me I should lose nothing, but should "raise it up <u>at the last day</u>. For this is the will of my "Father, that every one that beholdeth the Son, and believeth "on him, should have eternal live; and I will raise him up on <u>the last day</u>."

- John 11:24 "Martha said unto him: I know that he(Lazarus) shall rise again on the last day". But this attitude on the part of Mary the Fourth Evangelist has Jesus expressly correct. "I am the xsurrection and the life; he that believeth on me though he die, yet he shall live; and he that liveth and believeth on me shall never die".

- John 21:22 (The Appendix). "If I will that he tarry <u>till</u> "I come, what is that to thee?" And the narrative proceeds to add that it can not mean the coming of the Christ into the life of the believer; for death apparently overtakes that disciple.

Hellenization of Christian Messianism in the Fourth Gospel

Messianism is not the secret to the understanding of this gospel; what marks still remain of the Davidic and the apocalyptic hopes are like the treasured phrases of a faith that has moved out from its older habitat.

Here, as in Paul, the relation of the new revelation which has come in the form of a 'life' is of first importance: and in the expression of the dilemma, the author makes use of one of Paul's conceptions, a conception which Paul had from the Judaism of his day but which for Paul functioned but very little, namely the pre-existence of this 'Life'. It is a human life, Jesus hungers, and thirsts, and knows the tug of human emotion. But withal the dominant category is the pre-existence; what Jesus was on the earth he had been from the beginning; the author does not say that he was God, but the Logos was 'divine'. As such Jesus speaks of himself and of this unique relation which he bears to the Father in quite different terms from those which the Synoptics employ. The dilemma which Paul left un-resolved is here solved: Jesus is different in kind from the men around him; all traces of moral struggle as in the Temptation and the Agony are gone; he does not move among men with the homely touch the Synoptics record, his plain speech becomes oracular.

Even the apocalyptic hope is re-interpreted; the 'going away' and the 'coming again' of 14:2f refer to the death and resurrection so that the expected return of the Christ has taken place in the present spiritual presence with believers.

'There can be little doubt that by thus importing the doctrine of the Logos into the Gospel record, John is not only compelled to do violence to historical fact, but empties the life of Christ of much of its real worth and grandeur, while seeming to enhance it. The moral attributes, trust, pity, forgiveness, infinite sympathy, are replaced by certain metaphysical attributes which are supposed to belong more essentially to the divine nature'. (Scott, E.F.Fourth Gospel, Its Purpose and Theology p 172f).

In the Apocalypse of John, Christian Messianism shows itself reverting to type. Luther's comment in the Preface to the earliest edition of his translation is in point: 'My spirit cannot adapt itself to the book and a sufficient reason why I do not esteem it highly is that Christ is taught nor recognised in it, which is what an apostle ought before all things to do'. Even in the Apocalypse which draws so much from the book of Daniel and from other similar works, there have been found many hellenistic features to heighten the apocalyptic factors of this 'Christian' apocalypse. (See Bell cited above). The reluctance with which the 'catholic'church admitted the Revelation of John to the new canon shows how far 'Christianity had moved from the apocalyptic conceptions of 'Messiah'.

Conclusion

The one point where the Judaism of the past proved unable to embrace the faith of the new group was in finding place for the human life and un-messianic character of Jesus. Paul frankly subjected Jesus to God, but practically saw "God in the face of Jesus Christ" Much suggestive language was at hand in the religious thinking and rites of the Hellenistic world in which Paul moved for the Greeks had gods, whom they had deified and whose mortal life had been no bar to such exaltation. But as he had subjected the Old Testament revelation to Jesus and the apocalyptic hope to Jesus, so his Hellenistic thinking was likewise subjected to the human life and un-messianic character of Jesus.

In the Synoptic Gospels the normally Hellenistic ways are in evidence in evaluating the life and person of Jesus the apocalyptic Judaism is in heightened form and the Old Testament is brought under contribution to evaluate the person for whom no category was sufficient.

In the Fourth Gospel recourse was had to the conception of pre-existence as in the Wisdom of Solomon and in the Logos of Philo: Jesus upon earth was what He had always been, functionally God. The process reached its culmination in postulating for Jesus the same ousia as God, which ousia was mediated to believers in the miraculous sacraments in the Nicean thinking.